THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

INUIT RECREATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATIVE CHANGE ON TUNUNIRMIUT LIFESTYLE AND REGREATION PATTERNS

by

© DENNIS LLOYD ADAMS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled INUIT RECREATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATIVE CHANGE ON TUNUNIRMIUT LIFESTYLE AND RECREATION PATTERNS submitted by Dennis L. Adams in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

H.A. Scott
Supervisor

Gary Smith

[illegible]

[illegible]

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to an understanding between Inuit and "Kabloona," but especially to "J.B." - thank you.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate contemporary Inuit recreation patterns as processes resulting from acculturation, or the intercultural contact of the traditional Inuit and Euro-Canadian cultures. The investigation led to the identification of major trends in contemporary Inuit recreation patterns and a proposal for the future development of recreation in Canada's Northwest Territories.

Acculturation theory structured the study with sections being devoted to: identifying the characteristic cultural properties of a representative traditional Inuit group - the Tununirmiut - documenting the history and nature of conjunctive relations, and investigating contemporary settlement lifestyle and recreation patterns as they have resulted from intercultural contact. The theory of variations in value orientations was adopted for the purpose of investigating cultural properties, including the recreation system. A general recreation classification system was proposed as a means of identifying the subject area to be studied, and as an instrument for categorizing recreation behavior.

Within the above framework, data on the traditional Tununirmiut culture and recreation patterns was acquired from the written records of early explorers and ethnographers and supplemented by several recent works. Data on contemporary Tununirmiut settlement life and recreation patterns was primarily gathered through participant-observation techniques employed by the author while living in the settlement of Pond Inlet for the summer months of 1972 and 1973. The trends identified in contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns served as the basis for

proposing a future approach to recreation development in the Northwest Territories which may be utilized by northern recreation agencies, including the government.

The dominant value preferences of traditional Tununirmiut culture were identified as: "harmony-with-nature," "present" time, "being" acitivity, and "collateral" relations. Characteristic of this value profile was an integrated world view and an underlying leisure ethic. Within traditional Tununirmiut culture recreation served to support these dominant values, and featured: recreation behavior concomitant with supernatural beliefs and observances, an underlying leisure ethic notable in behavior as a preference for "present" time and "being" activity, and a preference for collateral modes of behavior. A feature of these traditional recreation patterns was their flexibility to variant value preferences, especially the expression of individualism.

Contemporary Tununirmiut settlement life was characterized by: a break with the traditional modes of relating to nature and the supernatural, and the emergence of Euro-Canadian value orientations; a continuing conjunction of the traditional leisure ethic and the emerging Euro-Canadian work ethic; and a form of social pluralism which served to allow variant behavior in designated settings. Contemporary recreation patterns largely reflected these shifts in value orientations as: the devaluation of those ancestral recreation activities associated with traditional beliefs and observances; the continuing preference for expressions of "present" time and "being" activity in recreation behavior; and a loosely held pluralism characterized by situationally specific behavior.

Based on the contemporary recreation patterns of the Tununirmiut, three general trends in Inuit recreation were identified; (1) cultural

disintegration or withdrawal; (2) assimilation or synthesis; and (3) a state of pluralism. Utilizing the identification of these general trends, the study proposed a possible future approach for northern recreation development. This approach was based on the principles of multi-culturalism and self-determination, and featured the establishment of parallel recreation delivery systems.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	THE PROBLEM AND SUB-PROBLEMS	1
	Introduction	1
	The Purpose of the Study	2
	Statement of the Problem and Sub-problems	3
	Justification of the Study	3
	Methods and Procedures	5
	Delimitations of the Study	8
	Limitations of the Study	10
	Definition of Terms	12
	Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis	13
II	CONCEPTUALIZING CULTURAL CHANGE	18
	Introduction	18
	A Theory of Acculturation	18
	A Theory of Value Variations	22
	Understanding the Concept Recreation in Behavioral Terms	28
III	TRADITIONAL TUNUNIRMIUT CULTURE	35
	Introduction	35
	The Setting	37
	Tununirmiut Relations with Nature and the Supernatural	41
	The Subsistence Cycle of the Qilalkanmiut	41
	Value Preferences	52
	Relating to Time and Activity	58

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Relating to Man	61
	Summary	65
IV	TRADITIONAL TUNUNIRMIUT RECREATION PATTERNS	70
	Introduction	70
	Tununirmiut Beliefs and Concomitant Recreation Behavior	71
	The Tununirmiut Leisure Ethos	82
	Recreation and Tununirmiut Social Structure	85
	Summary	90
V	INTERCULTURAL CONTACT: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	92
	Introduction	92
	Euro-Canadian Culture: A Perspective	93
	Earliest Contacts	96
	The Transition Era	100
	Settlement Relocation	107
	The Nature of Conjunctive Relations	110
VI	CONTEMPORARY TUNUNIRMIUT CULTURE: SETTLEMENT LIFE IN THE EARLY 1970'S	116
	Introduction	116
	The Settlement Setting	117
	Tununirmiut Relations with Nature and the Supernatural	122
	Livelihood Patterns	122
	Transitional Value Preferences	126
	Tununirmiut Perceptions of Time and Activity	130
	Settlement Social Organization	132
	Summary	153

CHAPTER		PAGE
VII	CONTEMPORARY TUNUNIRMIUT RECREATION PATTERNS	156
	Introduction	156
	Tununirmiut Beliefs and the Trend Toward	
	Secularized Recreation	157
	Concurrent Leisure and Work Ethics	169
	Recreation and Transitional Social Organization ..	181
	Sample Recreation Patterns	188
	Inuit Baseball	188
	Friday Dances	191
	Visiting and Hanging Out	193
	Summary	195
VIII	RECREATION TRENDS AND A FUTURE OPTION	198
	Introduction	198
	Tununirmiut Recreation Trends	198
	Implications for Future Options	203
	Cultural Pluralism: A Suggested Approach for ..	
	Northern Recreation	205
IX	SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	217
	Summary	217
	Conclusions	220
	Recommendations	220
	***	
BIBLIOGRAPHY		222
APPENDICES		235
APPENDIX A: POND INLET SUMMER RECREATION PROGRAM 1972:		
	FINAL REPORT	236

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Pond Inlet Location	7
2.	Ranges of Variability in Value Orientations	24
3.	Adams' Classification of Recreation Forms	31
4.	Semi-permanent Camps of the Tununirmiut	36
5.	Physiography of N. Baffin Island	39
6.	Traditional Tununirmiut Value Profile	66
7.	Euro-Canadian Value Profile	94
8.	Pond Inlet Site Plan: 1973	119
9.	Contemporary Tununirmiut Value Profile	154

Chapter I

THE PROBLEM AND SUB-PROBLEMS

Introduction

Over one-third of Canada, more than 1,300,000 square miles, lies north of sixty degrees north latitude and east of the Yukon Territory. The Northwest Territories, as this land area is called, is home for forty-five thousand people - roughly one person for every fifty square miles.[1] North of the tree line, which cuts the Northwest Territories diagonally in two, live most of Canada's sixteen thousand Inuit.[2]

Thousands of years before the first Euro-Canadians "discovered" this land, the Inuit were calling it Nunavut, or "our land." They had, over these thousands of years, evolved a remarkable culture and lifestyle suited to survival in this environment. The arrival of Euro-Canadians introduced a significant new feature into this environment - a feature which, over the course of succeeding years, dramatically altered the traditional Inuit culture.

The conjunction of Inuit and Euro-Canadian cultures in Canada's North has resulted in a contemporary Inuit society characterized by new economic, political and social systems. To fully comprehend these new systems one must understand the processes which created them. In the case of Canada's Inuit, the most pervasive, dramatic and rapid changes

have been acculturative, or changes that were "initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems" (S.S.R.C., 1954; 974). This study is directed toward understanding the nature of these changes, as they affected one group of Inuit, the Tununirmiut.[3]

More specifically, this study is concerned with understanding contemporary Inuit recreation patterns, as they reflect changes resulting from intercultural contact. Although several investigations of contemporary Inuit recreation have recognized intercultural contact as a feature of such patterns (Glassford, 1970; Bennington, 1976), this study identifies the processes resulting from them as a central determinant of contemporary recreation patterns.

The future development of Inuit recreation will largely be a reflection of the nature of conjunctive relations with the dominant Euro-Canadian system. To direct or coordinate such future development it will be necessary to account for the processes which are identified in this study. Failure to do so will result in an approach blind to the central features of northern recreation.

The Purpose of the Study

The central purpose of the study was to examine current Inuit recreation patterns as processes flowing from acculturation, and to evaluate these patterns with a view to proposing future options for northern recreation.

To accomplish this examination selected factors and processes of the traditional Inuit and Euro-Canadian recreation systems were examined from the theoretical perspective of variations in value orientations.

The theory of acculturation provided an implicit design for the study, and clarified the alternative processes flowing from conjunction of the systems under study.

Statement of the Problem and Sub-Problems

The central problem under consideration was to understand contemporary Inuit recreation as patterns and processes resulting from contact with Euro-Canadian culture and its recreation system.

One area of focus under the above problem was understanding the central characteristics of the traditional Inuit culture, and the emergence of recreation patterns within this culture.

A second focus of the study was to investigate the processes resulting from the contact of traditional Inuit culture with that of the Euro-Canadians. Understanding recreation as a feature of these processes was the central purpose of this focus.

The final focus was to identify trends in contemporary Inuit recreation resulting from acculturative processes, and to suggest an option for future development of northern recreation.

Justification of the Study

The present study adds to the limited knowledge of traditional Inuit recreation patterns, and provides a new perspective on these patterns. The earliest accounts of northern exploration are notable for what they do not say about Inuit recreation.[4] Subsequent research provides only an incomplete, and fragmented picture of such traditional patterns.[5]

While more recent investigations have successfully documented traditional recreation activities, particularly in the Mackenzie District, they have not, for the most part, adequately related these activities to their cultural setting.[6] This study serves to complement past research by documenting the traditional recreation patterns of a specific group of Inuit, the Tununirmiut. The recreation patterns of this group have not, as yet, been documented. Further, this study places these patterns within the traditional cultural setting, a feature which was of secondary concern for most previous investigators.

The most notable contribution to the body of knowledge on Inuit recreation patterns is an investigation conducted by Glassford (1970). This work documents the games of the traditional Mackenzie Inuit, and attempts to relate these game patterns, utilizing a mathematical theory of play, to the traditional economic and social patterns of this group. The present study extends this work in several important ways. It focuses on a much broader range of recreation patterns and integrates these patterns not only to social and economic systems, but to the basic cultural values of a representative Inuit group.

Utilizing a theory of value orientations, this study provides not only a different perspective on traditional Inuit recreation patterns, but sheds more light on the processes of acculturative change resulting from Euro-Canadian cultural intervention. Considering contemporary Inuit recreation patterns from this perspective adds an understanding which has not been provided by previous investigations.

Understanding contemporary recreation patterns from the perspective developed in this study, allows the development of a planned and coordinated approach for the future. Currently, such an approach is not

a feature of northern recreation development. This study suggests one optional approach which might guide the future development of recreation in the north.

Methods and Procedures

To achieve the purpose of this study the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 was utilized. Traditional Tununirmiut culture and its recreation patterns were identified by applying the theoretical perspective of variations in value orientations. From the same perspective the features of contemporary Tununirmiut society and its recreation patterns were also identified. Acculturation theory provided an implicit framework for investigating the nature of Tununirmiut-Euro-Canadian conjunctive relations, and clarified the processes which flowed from these relations.

To identify the characteristics of traditional Tununirmiut culture, data was required on basic cultural values, and those patterns reflecting these values. This data was acquired primarily from the accounts of early explorers, ethnographers, traders, scientists, missionaries and adventurers. These sources were supplemented by recent ethnographies and research. Further, a number of attempts were made to gather information from the elders of Pond Inlet during the two summers the author spent in this settlement.

To identify the characteristics of contemporary Tununirmiut society, data was required on the history of conjunctive relations, the contemporary values, and the patterns reflecting these values. Data on the history of conjunctive relations was gathered from as many primary documents as

were available, and supplemented by several major secondary sources.

Several methods were employed to identify contemporary values and behavioral patterns. The primary source of data was a daily log book kept by the author during the two summers spent in Pond Inlet (see Figure 1). Participant-observation techniques were primarily utilized to gather this information. The position the author found himself in largely dictated the use of such techniques over more obtrusive means, such as questionnaires or interviews. Utilizing these latter techniques would have violated the role the author had as settlement recreation director, and undermined the trust and acceptance necessary to carry out this job.

Supplementing the data gathered by participant-observation techniques, information was gathered from local school, adult education and government sources. Utilizing opportunities which arose, numerous semi-structured conversations with community residents yielded additional data on current values and behavior.

The monthly reports of other summer recreation directors were utilized to compare recreation patterns, and to assess the effect of introducing aspects of the Euro-Canadian recreation systems in other Inuit settlements.

From June, 1975, to September, 1977, the author was employed as a Recreation Officer with the Government of the Northwest Territories, Recreation Division. In this capacity numerous communities were visited, and these opportunities were utilized to observe various community patterns and to discuss recreation concerns with community residents. Field trip reports and workshop material formed a part of the data for many of these observations.

While in the employ of the Government of the Northwest Territories, Recreation Division, the files and documents of this division were

FIGURE 1. Pond Inlet Location
After Acres & Co., Site Investigation & Town Planning Pond Inlet

available to the author. The data thus obtained was a primary source for documenting government recreation programs and services, and establishing the organization of other recreation and cultural organizations in the Northwest Territories.

The present investigation served as the basis for suggesting a future approach for northern recreation. Supplementing the present investigation were a number of sources which clarified the current systems in the Northwest Territories and verified that this suggested approach was economically, politically and socially feasible.

Delimitations of the Study

The most significant delimitation of the study was the selection of one group, the Tununirmiut and their contemporary counterparts, for case study. No attempt was made to identify the cultural variations which existed between the Tununirmiut and other traditional Inuit groups. Although such variations no doubt existed, basic cultural values were commonly held by all traditional Inuit groups. It is therefore suggested that, although behavioral variations existed among various traditional Inuit groups, the cultural values of any one group were representative of all groups. The representativeness of the contemporary Tununirmiut was somewhat more suspect. The settlement life of the contemporary Inuit varied widely, and no single community was a carbon of others. Pond Inlet represents a northern community where the Inuit were a sufficiently dominant element in the community that they maintained a degree of cultural autonomy from local Euro-Canadians. As such, the processes and patterns identified in this settlement were reflective only of other settlements with a similar

dominant Inuit element. No attempt was made in this study to draw out the processes and patterns in communities where the Inuit population was all but submerged by a dominant Euro-Canadian element.

Although parallels may exist with other native groups, the study was restricted to the effects of acculturation on the Inuit. To fully appreciate the entire context of northern recreation, similar investigations will be necessary to determine the effects of acculturation on other native groups.

The analysis of traditional Tununirmiut patterns and processes was limited to the theoretical perspective developed in Chapter 2. It was not the purpose of this study to make a comprehensive analysis of all structural or functional factors of this sociocultural system. The analysis was limited to patterns and processes which: (1) characterized the value orientations of the Tununirmiut system; (2) highlighted differences between the Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadian systems; and (3) yielded significant insight into the results of the conjunction of these systems. Thus limited, the analysis avoided the potential problem of dealing with effects too microscopic to yield effective results. The analysis was further limited to a focus on recreation patterns. Such other spheres as the economic, religious, and political systems were referred to as they established and clarified a framework for this primary focus.

The option developed for future northern recreation was limited to current political, economic and social conditions. No attempt was made to predict major changes to those systems which might result from such factors as native land claim negotiations.[7]

A further delimitation to the study was the development of an operational definition of the concept of recreation. The delineation of

this concept was purely arbitrary, and with the object of beginning the analysis. A purpose of the study was to highlight that Euro-Canadian concepts of "recreation" did not strictly apply to traditional Inuit culture. Arbitrarily defining recreation provided a delimited framework for the investigation to proceed.

Limitations of the Study

Communicating with elderly Tununirmiut who spoke little or no English was a serious limitation to the study. Although the author was able, in most cases, to utilize capable interpreters, it was always possible that information was lost in translation. The cognitive framework imposed by the Inuit language often made literal translation difficult or impossible, and the author was required to rely on the interpretative accuracy of the translator.

In many cases it was not possible to validate the information obtained from Tununirmiut informants. Not being able to validate such information was a possible limitation of the study. However, it was the author's experience that most respondents were candid and honest. On those occasions when such information was validated, it proved very accurate.

All attempts were made to acquire and refer to pertinent documents and publications. It is possible however, that several such sources were overlooked during this review.

A serious delimitation to the study was the lack of written records of the traditional Tununirmiut. The work of early explorers contained, for the most part, only fragmented references to the Tununirmiut. With the notable exceptions of Parry (1824) and his second-in-command, Lyon

(1824), the reports of these early explorers contributed little more than a cursory glimpse of the Tununirmiut. The content of such early accounts often reflected that observations of the Inuit - their distribution, numbers, economic activities, and social life - were secondary or incidental to the principal objectives of the expedition. While Scottish and English whalers, who quickly followed the early explorers into these areas, had a continuing contact with the Tununirmiut for nearly one hundred years, they left few, if any, records. This continuing contact, however, dramatically influenced the material culture and subsistence cycle of the Tununirmiut. Unfortunately, the most comprehensive documentation of traditional Tununirmiut culture occurred near the end of the whaling era, at a time when the Tununirmiut had already undergone a dramatic cultural change. Fortunately, most notable investigations have painstakingly identified the influences on traditional Tununirmiut culture of this era of contact with whalers. Utilization of these sources however, had to be undertaken with some reservation.

A final limitation to the study was the participant-observation techniques employed to gather data on contemporary Tununirmiut patterns. Phillips succinctly stated a major limitation of these techniques was that "... the variables which arise from the data collection activity itself are a major source of influence on the behavior and responses (i.e. variance) of subjects..." (1971;9). The participant-observation techniques utilized were, in effect, a social process of their own which influenced the phenomena being measured. It was necessary to acknowledge this feature of the data-collection process and to account for the variables resulting from this process. A number of examples are revealed in those chapters on contemporary settlement life, of the effects of these tech-

iques on the social system under study.

Definition of Terms

Recreation. One of the sub-problems of the study was to describe and define the traditional Tununirmiut conceptualization of the term recreation. In order to begin such an analysis an artibrary operational definition of the term was necessary. Thus, in the beginning of the present study the concept of recreation was defined as, that activity engaged in during the portion of time which remains when work and the basic requirements for existence and subsistence have been satisfied. In behaviorial terms, recreation is non-work behavior engaged in during free time. It was recognized that such a definition is based on a linear concept of time which reinforces the industrial work day and the opposing conceptions of work and leisure. Such a conceptualization of recreation may not apply to traditional Inuit recreation behavior, but is stipulated here in order to proceed with the study.

Traditional Tununirmiut Culture. Those values and behavioral patterns characteristic of the Tununirmiut people in the era prior to any appreciable contacts with Euro-Canadians. Chapter 3 is devoted to a description of this culture.

Traditional Tununirmiut Recreation. Those recreation patterns and processes of the traditional Tununirmiut culture. The characteristics of this system are described in Chapter 4.

Contemporary Tununirmiut Culture. Those values and behavioral patterns characteristic of settlement life in Pond Inlet in the early

1970's. The dominant feature of this culture was that it was, in fact, characterized by the conjunction of traditional Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadian elements. Chapter 6 is devoted to describing this culture.

Contemporary Tununirmiut Recreation. Those recreation patterns and processes of the contemporary Tununirmiut culture. A dominant feature of this system was the conjunction of traditional Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadian patterns. This system is described in Chapter 7.

Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter 2 will establish a theoretical perspective for analyzing cultural change. The first section will deal with the theory of acculturation implicit in the design of the study. The second section will make explicit a theory of variations in value orientations which frames the analysis of selected patterns and processes of the traditional and contemporary Tununirmiut cultures and recreation systems. The final section of this chapter will develop a framework for understanding recreation behavior.

Chapter 3 will investigate the traditional Tununirmiut culture within a theoretical perspective of variations in value orientations. The first section will describe the traditional values and behavioral patterns associated with relating to nature and the supernatural. The second section will detail traditional means of relating to time and activity. The final section will recount traditional modes of relating to man, and the social arrangements established around these expressive modes.

Chapter 4 will portray those traditional recreation patterns and processes which emerged within traditional Tununirmiut culture. The first section will set forth those recreation patterns concomitant with traditional beliefs and world view. The second section will delineate the underlying leisure ethos characteristic of traditional culture. The final section characterizes the role of recreation patterns in relation to traditional social organizations and arrangements.

Chapter 5 will provide a brief historical overview of the contacts between the Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadians. The first section will identify the basic features of Euro-Canadian culture, including values and recreation patterns. The final three sections trace the history of intercultural contacts from the earliest era through to relocation of the Tununirmiut in the settlement of Pond Inlet.

Chapter 6 will utilize the same theoretical perspective applied in Chapter 3 to investigate contemporary Tununirmiut life in the early 1970's. Three sections will deal with the respective cultural values of: relating to nature and the supernatural, relating to time and activity, and relating to man.

Chapter 7 will picture contemporary recreation patterns and processes which have emerged within the contemporary Tununirmiut society. Paralleling the framework of Chapter 4, the three sections of this Chapter will describe: the changes in recreation patterns concomitant with Tununirmiut beliefs; recreation patterns resulting from the conjunction of leisure and work ethics; and recreation patterns as they relate to contemporary social organizations or arrangements.

Chapter 8 will identify the main trends in contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns and suggest an optional approach to future recreation

development.

Chapter 9 will summarize and conclude the study, and suggest areas for further study.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER I

[1]The 1976 Canadian Census Figures are not accepted as universally accurate by the Government of Northwest Territories. It appears major discrepancies result from the transient nature of many northerners. The Northwest Territories Government has revised a number of community population lists based on municipal census figures, and health station lists. The figure of forty-five thousand can be considered an accurate estimate based on a combination of the best information available.

[2]The people commonly referred to as Eskimos prefer to be known as Inuit, which literally translated means, "the people." The origin of the term Eskimo comes from a word applied to these people by the Algonquin, and originally meant, "eaters of raw meat." The term Inuit will be used throughout this study.

[3]Boas identifed the Aggomiut "tribe" of Inuit as frequenting the northern Baffin Island region. The Aggomiut were further divided by Boas into two "sub-tribes"; (1) the Tununirmiut, or "people of a shaded or shadowy place," found in the Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet area; and (2) The Tununirusirmiut, or "secondary people of a shaded or shadowy place," found in the Admirality Inlet area. (1888, pp. 442-4).

Mathiassen demonstrated with archaelogical evidence that the Tununirusirmiut were part of a broader classification of Inuit called Iglulik, all united by ties of blood and culture (1928, pp. 5-23). Archeological evidence indicated the Tununirmiut have occupied the Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet area for centuries.

[4]This was partially a reflection of the central purpose of early exploration to "discover," map, and document the areas explored. Typically, such accounts of early expeditions were no more than the combination of a daily log of activity and such scientific documentation as required by the sponsoring party.

[5]Notable among arctic research expeditions was the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24, and the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18. Notable contributions by Knud Rasmussen and Kaj Birket-Smith of the Fifth Thule Expedition, and Diamond Jenness of the Canadian Arctic Expedition constituted a major portion of the knowledge available on the Canadian Inuit. Notable independently published ethnographers include: Balikci (1970), Boaz (1888, 1907), Freuchen (1961), Hall (1865), Stefansson (1913), and Weyer (1962). In combination, the above authors provided a reasonably comprehensive picture of traditional Inuit culture, however, references to recreation patterns, structures, values, and beliefs were often cursory and fragmented.

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

[6]The most notable research in this respect was Glassford's, "Application of a Theory of games to the Transitional Eskimo Culture" (1970). Additional research by Danielson (1971) and Bennington (1976) added to the accumulated knowledge of Inuit games, play, and sport activities.

[7]The issue of the settlement of native land claims will be without a doubt, the most significant development to be reached in the near future. In 1976 the Inuit Tapirisat (Eskimo Brotherhood) released a comprehensive land claim proposal calling for the creation of an independent Inuit territory. This proposal was temporarily withdrawn to allow further discussion among the Inuit. It was anticipated that a revised proposal will be presented in late 1977 or early 1978. It is uncertain at this time what the outcome will be of negotiations with the federal government.

Chapter II

CONCEPTUALIZING CULTURAL CHANGE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter was to establish a framework for analyzing the changes which have occurred to Tununirmiut culture and recreation patterns. The first section of this chapter delineates the concepts and theories of acculturation, a perspective which implicitly structured the study and highlighted the general processes flowing from the conjunction of the two autonomous cultures. The second section makes explicit the theory of value variations developed by Kluckhohn (1967), which serve as an analytical framework for studying the central features of the cultures in question. The final section develops a schema for understanding the scope of recreation behavior, which aided comparison of traditional and contemporary recreation patterns.

A Theory of Acculturation

The present study was specifically concerned with changes to Tununirmiut culture resulting from a history of one hundred and fifty years of contact with Euro-Canadians. To appreciate the extent and nature of such change a theoretical perspective of acculturation was applied to the patterns and processes of Tununirmiut culture.

It is significant to note at this juncture that the above form of acculturative change was not the only change which characterized Tununirmiut culture. For centuries the Tununirmiut culture evolved, through a series of internal changes, to a succession of environmental and social conditions. For the most part, such changes were produced without contact with people of different cultures. The processes which probably characterized such early changes in Tununirmiut culture, include: (1) minor modification to existing behavior (variation); (2) the transfer of existing behavior to new situational contacts, or the synthesis of existing patterns into new combinations (invention); and (3) the "trial-and-error" learning of new behavior (tentation), (Murdock, 1956; 94-9). Such innovative changes to behavioral patterns became socially shared and eventually were integrated into Tununirmiut culture.

Although Tununirmiut culture was a dynamic evolutionary entity long before the arrival of the first Euro-Canadians, it was this event, and the processes resulting thereof, that produced a most pervasive, dramatic and rapid form of change. The extent and nature of such change is perhaps the single most important feature determining contemporary Tununirmiut culture and recreation patterns.[1]

To fully appreciate this form of change, hereafter referred to as acculturative change, the United States Social Science Research Council suggested four central features be considered: (1) the properties of the contacting cultures; (2) the nature of the contact situation; (3) the nature of conjunctive relations established between contacting cultures; and (4) the processes flowing from these conjunctive relations (1954; 975).

A central aspect of this study was to investigate contemporary Tununirmiut society and behavioral patterns on the basis of understanding

the above features of acculturation. The theory of variations in value orientations, developed in the next section, was applied to traditional Tununirmiut culture to understand its characteristic properties. The contact setting and the history of contacts were documented. Those networks of relations established upon contact, (conjunctive relations) were also detailed. The investigation of contemporary Tununirmiut society and behavioral patterns largely focused on understanding the changes in Tununirmiut values which occurred as a result of intercultural conjunctive relations.

The United States Social Science Research Council has suggested that an autonomous cultural system can be defined as "... one which is self-sustaining... that is, it does not need to be maintained by a complementary, reciprocal, subordinate, or other indispensible connection with a second system" (1954; 974). Without doubt, the traditional Tununirmiut can be considered an autonomous group under the above definition. The contemporary Tununirmiut however, were largely dependent on the economic, political, and social systems of the dominant Euro-Canadian culture. The processes which account for this transformation were identified by the United States Social Science Research Council as cultural disintegration and reactive adaptation (1954: 986-7).

The essential feature of both cultural disintegration and reactive adaptation is that the receiving culture, in this case the Tununirmiut, loses the autonomy necessary to selectively screen cultural elements of the donor culture. Failure to maintain this cultural autonomy largely results in the forced incorporation into the first culture, the Tununirmiut, of elements of the dominant second culture, the Euro-Canadian. This forced incorporation results either in the complete cultural dis-

integration of the receiving culture, or the withdrawal and encystment of the values of this culture reactive adaptation.

In those cases where the processes of withdrawal or disintegration do not occur intercultural contacts are characterized by either progressive adjustments or stablized pluralism (S.S.R.C., 1954; 987). Progressive adjustment is essentially creative in nature, and results when the receiving culture, the Tununirmiut, maintain the prerogative to integrate, modify or reject elements of the donor culture, the Euro-Canadian. This ability to selectively screen incoming elements results in the assimilation, or diffusion, of certain features, or the development of a third unique system (creative synthesis) in other cases. In reality progressive adjustment is rare. More commonly, a form of stabilized pluralism develops.

Stabilized pluralism is characterized by the maintenance of a form of cultural autonomy and the establishment of a network of formalized or institutionalized conjunctive relations. These mechanisms serve essentially to arrest or slacken either progressive or negative adjustments to intercultural contact (S.S.R.C., 1954; 990).

A final feature of acculturation theory considered within the scope of this study, is the concept of "culture". While the Social Science Research Council identified the processes occurring from intercultural contact, it did not deal with the meaning of this central concept. For the purpose of this study a definition of the concept was derived from the discipline of anthropology. An anthropological perspective provides a definition which closely articulates with the theory of acculturation.[2]

The following composite definition of the concept of culture is

offered:

> . . . an entity composed, on the one hand, of beliefs, symbols, and values (Geertz 1957), sets of standards for perceiving, believing evaluating, and acting (Goodenough 1970), cultural traditions (Beals 1967), or jural rules (Leach 1961), and, on the other hand, of interactive behavior, social interaction, and social structure (Geertz 1957), a material-behavioral system of interacting people and things (Goodenough 1970), relationships between human beings (Beals 1967), or statistical norms (Leach 1961), (Otterbein, 1972; 3).

Thus defined, culture includes a set of rules which govern behavior, and the actual behavior of its members, whether this behavior conforms to the rules or not (Otterbein, 1972; 3). A final feature of culture is its material culture, which includes the physical objects peculiar to a system (Sorokin, 1947; 63). For the purposes of this study priority was given to the non-material aspects of the cultures in question.

A Theory of Value Variations

Kluckhohn's theory is based on three basic assumptions: (1) there are a limited number of basic problems for which all men must find solutions; (2) solutions to these problems may vary, but fall within a range of possible solutions; and (3) these variant solutions are present to varying degrees in all societies (1967; 221).

The basic problems crucial to the survival of all human groups were identified by Kluckhohn as:

(1) What is the character of innate human nature?
(human nature value orientation).

(2) What is the relation of man to nature?
(man-nature value orientation).

(3) What is the temporal focus of life?
(time value orientation).

(4) What is the modality of man's relationship to other man?
(relational value orientation), (1967; 222).[3]

The range of possible solutions to these basic problems in value orientation were identified by Kluckhohn, as they appear in Figure 2 (1967; 222). The following description of these variant value positions was drawn largely from this original source.

The Puritan Ethic illustrates the "evil-but-mutable" concept of human nature. According to this perception man is considered to be inherently evil, and goodness can only be achieved through constant control. The dominant force behind the rise of capitalism in the Western world can probably be traced to the emergence of this belief in the human nature of man. The dominant perception of human nature in the world as a whole, it was suggested, is a mixture of good and evil, with goodness being realized only through effort. Although few, if any, examples were found of entire societies which ascribe fully to the orientation of man as "immutably good," it was hinted that such variants can exist within a society-at-large (1967; 222-3).

According to Kluckhohn, Spanish-Americans are typically fatalistic in their relation with nature (1967; 223). Spanish-Americans are expected to accept acts of nature as inevitable and beyond any control which can be exerted. The predominant Euro-Canadian orientation, on the other hand, represents the variant that man can overcome and utilize natural forces for their own benefit. Characteristic of this orientation is the belief that scientific solutions can be applied to master nature. The predominant

Value Orientation	Range of Variability		
INNATE HUMAN NATURE	EVIL MUTABLE IMMUTABLE	GOOD&EVIL MUTABLE IMMUTABLE	GOOD MUTABLE IMMUTABLE
MAN'S RELATION TO NATURE, AND THE SUPERNATURAL	SUBJECT-TO-NATURE	HARMONY-WITH-NATURE	MASTERY-OVER-NATURE-
TIME FOCUS	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
HUMAN ACTIVITY MODALITY	BEING-IN-BECOMING	BEING	DOING
MODALITY OF MAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER MEN	LINEAL	COLLATERAL	INDIVIDUAL

FIGURE 2. Ranges of Variability in Value Orientation

After Kluckhohn, The Nature of Cultural Integration and Change

orientation of the traditional Inuit represents the third variant. The Inuit maintained harmony with nature through an elaborate system of rituals and customs. Characteristically, relations with nature and the supernatural were inextricably interwoven, and explanations for natural phenomena were commonly found in supernatural beliefs.

It was suggested that, although conceptualization of all variants of the time orientation can be found in every society, the preference given to these positions varies from society to society (Kluckhohn, 1967; 223-4). The traditional Inuit represent a group primarily concerned with the present, rather than the past or future. Euro-Canadians, in comparison, are dominantly orientated toward the future. Precise planning for a "better" future characterizes this orientation, and is in direct contrast to the former Inuit mode of dealing with immediate environmental and social conditions. Historic China, with its ancestoral worship and strong traditions and ceremonies, has been alluded to as a classic example of the third variant orientation, the past (Kluckhohn, 1967; 224).

Kluckhohn has limited the activity orientation to the concept of the nature of man's characteristic mode of self-expression in activity (1967; 224-5). The dominant mode of expressing activity in traditional Inuit society is illustrative of "being" activity. Characteristically, such activity was spontaneous, unplanned and self-motivated. Contrasting this orientation is the Euro-Canadian preference for "doing" activity modes. Such activity is characteristically goal-orientated, planned, and measured by external standards. Evaluation is primarily applied to what a person accomplishes, rather than what he represents. Classical Greek and traditional Chinese cultures have been identified as illustrations of the final activity preference, "being-in-becoming" (Kluckhohn,

1967; 225). The distinguishing feature of this preference is activity directed toward self-actualization of all aspects of the human potential.

It was indicated that all three positions of the relational orientation can be found in any one society, but that respective societies will vary in the preference given to one or another of these relational modes (Kluckhohn, 1967; 225-6). The traditional Spanish-American society, Kluckhohn demonstrated, is an example of a powerful lineal orientation (1967; 231). This society was portrayed as patrón-dominated and hierarchically defined by age, sex and generational differences. The traditional Inuit society, on the other hand, was primarily a collective system characterized by the extended family, reciprocal exchange, and cooperative hunting patterns. Individual autonomy, the third variant, is the dominant relational preference of Euro-Canadian society.

The above value orientation framework proved a useful tool for analyzing the central properties of the traditional Tununirmiut culture. While classical approaches to analyzing cultural properties tend, for the most part, to stress the conformity of cultural systems,[4] the value variation approach adds the important feature of cultures preferring certain orientations but allowing variant expressions.

Based on this value variation theory, Kluckhohn made several deductions about the nature of cultural properties: (1) values are not absolute, they vary in emphasis and any one system is characterized by the expressions of these variations; (2) any one social system is actually a network of the rank-ordering's of value preferences and their particular emphasis in that society. Any "strain toward consistency" is really therefore, only the influence of the dominant preferences upon the variant ones; and (3) profiles of value preferences are characterized by varying

degrees of congruence, and incongruent combinations create strain for individuals and collectives (1967; 226-7). These deductions serve to guide the present investigation.

Conceptualizing culture as a profile of dominant and variant systems of meaning also provided significant insight into cultural change. Whereas most theories of cultural change focus on either the evolutionary aspects of change, or the aspects of change precipitated by specific antecedent events,[5] the theory of value variations allows some integration of these two focuses.[6]

Several significant inferences regarding cultural change were suggested by Kluckhohn (235-6). As these inferences had bearing on the present study, they are briefly discussed below. Cultural change precipited by intercultural contact is primarily a result of the peculiar value profile of each system. Different value profiles - different in respect to their rank orderings and "goodness of fit" - vary in susceptibility to external forces. Certain profiles are less resistant to change than others, while incongruent value orderings create a greater potential for change. Thus, the effects which will result from intercultural contact will depend largely on the differences in respective profiles, and their susceptibility to change.

Accounting as it does for cultural properties and aspects of cultural change resulting from intercultural contact, the theory of value orientations articulates well with the theoretical perspective of acculturation outlined in the previous section.

Understanding the Concept Recreation In Behavioral Terms

A prerequisite for proceeding with the investigation was the establishment of a definition of the concept recreation. Although a central focus of the study was to document the patterns and processes of this concept in traditional and contemporary Tununirmiut culture, it was necessary, in order to proceed with such documentation, to operationally define and delineate what is meant by this concept. As a starting point then, the following conceptualization of recreation is offered.

It is appropriate at this time to note that recreation, as a concept, is both a set of behavioral patterns and a system of meanings. To adequately understand this concept it is, therefore, necessary to account for both components. In this study priority has been placed on understanding the system of meanings (values) which articulate this concept. However, in order to assume these abstractions it is necessary to observe regularities of behavior. To identify and classify these regularities in behavior, and in turn the system of meanings articulating them, the following schema was developed.

Perhaps the major distinction that must be made is between institutional and non-institutional forms of recreation. Institutional recreation is a characteristic of most industrialized societes, and is based on a highly developed division of labor. One of the most pressing problems of an industrialized society is the reconciliation of an unavoidable fragmentation resulting from such a division of labor. Industrialized societies, such as the Canadian society-at-large, create organizations and institutions and ordain them with specific functions as a means of

effecting this reconciliation. One such artifically created organization is the recreation institution. Recreation, as an institution, can be viewed as an invention of the industrial era which serves as a social arrangement to meet the need of distinguishing leisure activity from work activity.

Pre-industrial societies such as the traditional Inuit, on the other hand, have little requirement to create such institutions. The traditional Tununirmiut, for example, made little distinction between production and consumption, and the two were commonly integrated in a unified way of life. Obviously, this major difference precluded applying the common institutional definitions of recreation to the traditional Tununirmiut culture. While institutional forms of recreation had no meaning to the traditional Tununirmiut, a number of patterns of behavior illustrated an inherent drive to remain active when such activity was not particularly necessary for subsistence or survival. It was such "play" behavior that became the focus of this study.[7]

The behavioral classification system developed by Glassford (1970), provided the basis for identifying these "play" forms of behavior. Glassford's classification is based on the zero-sum and non-zero-sum theory of play developed by Von Neuman and Morgenstein. Based on the principles of specified and unspecified goals and strategies, Glassford developed a two-by-two table of play categories. These categories were defined as competitive games (specified goals and unspecified strategies); cooperative games (unspecified goals and specified strategies); games of individual self-testing (specified goals and specified strategies); and amusements or diversions (unspecified goals and unspecified strategies), (1970; 139-47). Further characterizing these categories, Glassford maintained: competitive

games are those in which two claimants, either individuals or teams, utilize a number of indeterminate tactics in pursuit of an objective only one can possess - victory; cooperative games, in contrast, are those in which two or more participants utilize harmonious effort to achieve a commonly shared goal; games of individual self-testing are those in which a person competes against himself or a second individual utilizing specific strategy, and can be further categorized into activities of ability and skill, jumping, endurance, chance, and strength, (1970; 144-6). A common feature of these latter three forms of play activity is that the are rule-bound or, have some commonly understood methods and procedures. This feature distinguishes these activities from those identified by Glassford as amusements or diversions, and provides the basis for the suggested classification system portrayed in Figure 3.

The major difference between the classification system developed for the purpose of this study (see Figure 3) and that developed by Glassford, is a further refinement of Glassford's play category "amusements or diversions." Being defined as it was as sedentary or non-purposive activity (1970; 9-11), this category of non-rule-bound play proved too vague to properly operationalize. In addition, several important non-rule-bound play forms were not adequately accounted for within this definition. For these reasons, the category was expanded to include the following play forms: creative play, expressive play, imitative play, and practice play.

Creative play is envisaged as a play form which might otherwise be classified into one or another of the rule-bound categories, except that the strategies and goals of the activity are intrinsic to the performer. This form of activity is distinguished from other forms of autotelic play by the features of "creating" or producing a visible end result. Examples

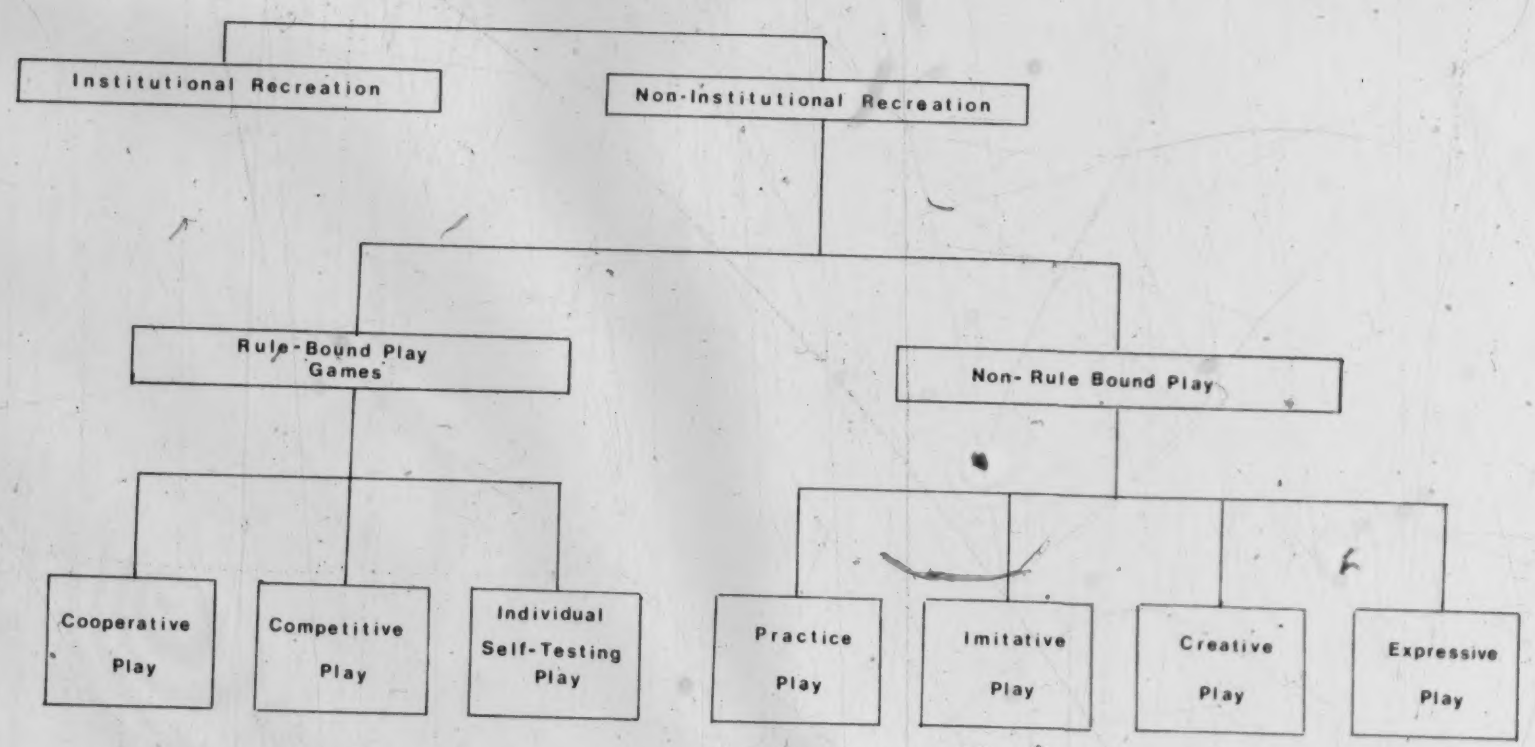

FIGURE 3. Adams' Classification of Recreation Forms

of such activity include carving, drawing, singing, dancing and story-telling. While many of these activities can occur in group settings, and commonly do, external limitations or expectations are not applied. If such activities are limited by external limitations, they become one or another of the forms of rule-bound activity. To illustrate this distinction, the example of traditional Inuit drum dancing is offered. As an individual expression for the sheer pleasure of the activity itself; drum dancing is creative play. As a group activity directed toward appeasing the spirits, on the other hand, drum dancing is a form of cooperative play. Finally, as an activity associated with a song duel, drum dancing is a competitive play form. Singing can similarly be identified as a creative play form in certain situations and rule-bound activity in other situations.

Expressive play is similarly autotelic, but is essentially uncreative, unlike the above case. Activity in this category closely parallels Glassford's distinction of diversionary play. Commonly, such activity is initiated because of the accessibility of a material and is an expression of imagination. Such traditional Inuit games as playing with the bull roarer or buzz, juggling, and playing tops are examples of this play form.

Practice play is distinguished from expressive play, in that the former represents only those sensory-motor manipulations of the very young (0-2 years of age). Characteristically, such play is merely the child's manipulation of his immediate environment and serves primarily as a means of sensory-motor development. This category of play was not considered within the focus of this study.

The final form of non-rule-bound play activity is that of imitative play. The central feature of this play form is that it is an imitation of common patterns of social behavior. Commonly, such activity is the

domain of children who imitate, in play, those daily behavioral patterns of adults. The young boy's play with his miniature harpoon or fishing spear are notable examples of such play in traditional Inuit society. Significantly, in this same society such play was not restricted to children, and it was not uncommon for adults to engage in such forms of activity. Imitative play, it must be noted, is distinct from other forms of symbolism, which are common across all play categories. While imitative play is specifically imitative of social behavior, other forms of symbolism are imitative of such features as the environment or the supernatural.

In summary, this section establishes a behavioral definition of recreation which delimits and operatializes the concept. This definition allowed the investigator to establish that behavior which would be considered within the scope of the study. In addition, it allowed specific behavior to be categorized as recreation and, as such, helped structure the investigation.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER II

[1]This assumption is supported by a number of scholars, including: Vallee (1971), Hughes (1965), Jenness (1964), and Glassford (1970).

[2]Weiss has discussed the various perspectives of culture which have led to the disciplines of cultural and social anthropology (1973; 379-89). Anthropology, concerned as it is specifically with culture, provides a sufficiently inclusive definition of culture to understand cultural change. Those typically sociological perspectives of culture identified by Sorokin as the "causal-functional" and "logico-meaningful" schools of thought (1937, Vol. 1) tend, for the most part, to restrict the analysis of cultural change.

[3]Kluckhohn has discussed, in some detail, the sources having greatest influence on the selection of these problems in footnote 14 of "The Nature of Cultural Integration and Change" (1967; 245-6). Within this same footnote Kluckhohn acknowledges the possibility of the existence of other basic problems not included in her list.

[4]Kluckhohn has expanded further on this feature of most theories of culture (1967; 218-9).

[5]Watson has suggested most theories of cultural change can be roughly classified into "developmental" or "causal correlation" types (1953; 139-40). Essentially, developmental theories conceptualize cultural change as evolutionary, while causal-correlation theories conceptualize cultural change as flowing from specific antecedent events, usually external to the system.

[6]Kluckhohn has suggested such interrelation of the two dominant approaches to cultural change can be achieved by paying serious attention to the nature of intracultrual and intercultural variations in values (1967).

[7]Among the more notable proponents of the biological origin of activity is Huizinga (1955), whose landmark work, Homo Ludens, traced the role of play in almost every aspect of culture. Among those who have recognized that all humans have a basic need for activity, are: Schiller (1902), Spencer (1873), Hall (1904), Mitchell and Mason (1941), and Piaget (1951).

Chapter III

TRADITIONAL TURUNIRMIUT CULTURE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter was twofold: (1) to establish the contact setting which largely structured Tununirmiut-Euro-Canadian contacts; and (2) to analyze the characteristic properties of the traditional Tununirmiut culture. The first section serves as a brief introduction to the natural environment of the homeland of the Tununirmiut - that region of northern Baffin Island surrounding Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet, (see Figures 1 and 4).

The subsequent three sections are devoted to describing four basic value orientations of the traditional Tununirmiut culture, including: relating to nature and the supernatural, relating to time, relating to activity, and relating to man.[1] The first of these sections is divided into two main subdivisions: (1) an account of the annual subsistence cycle of a representative group of Tununirmiut, the Qilalukanmiut;[2] and (2) an analysis of the values which articulate these typical relations with nature and the interrelated supernatural. The importance of traditional Tununirmiut relationships with nature and the supernatural cannot be overemphasized. It was these intimate relationships which largely limited and determined the material and intellectual culture of the traditional Tununirmiut. Because of its central role in Tununirmiut culture, the

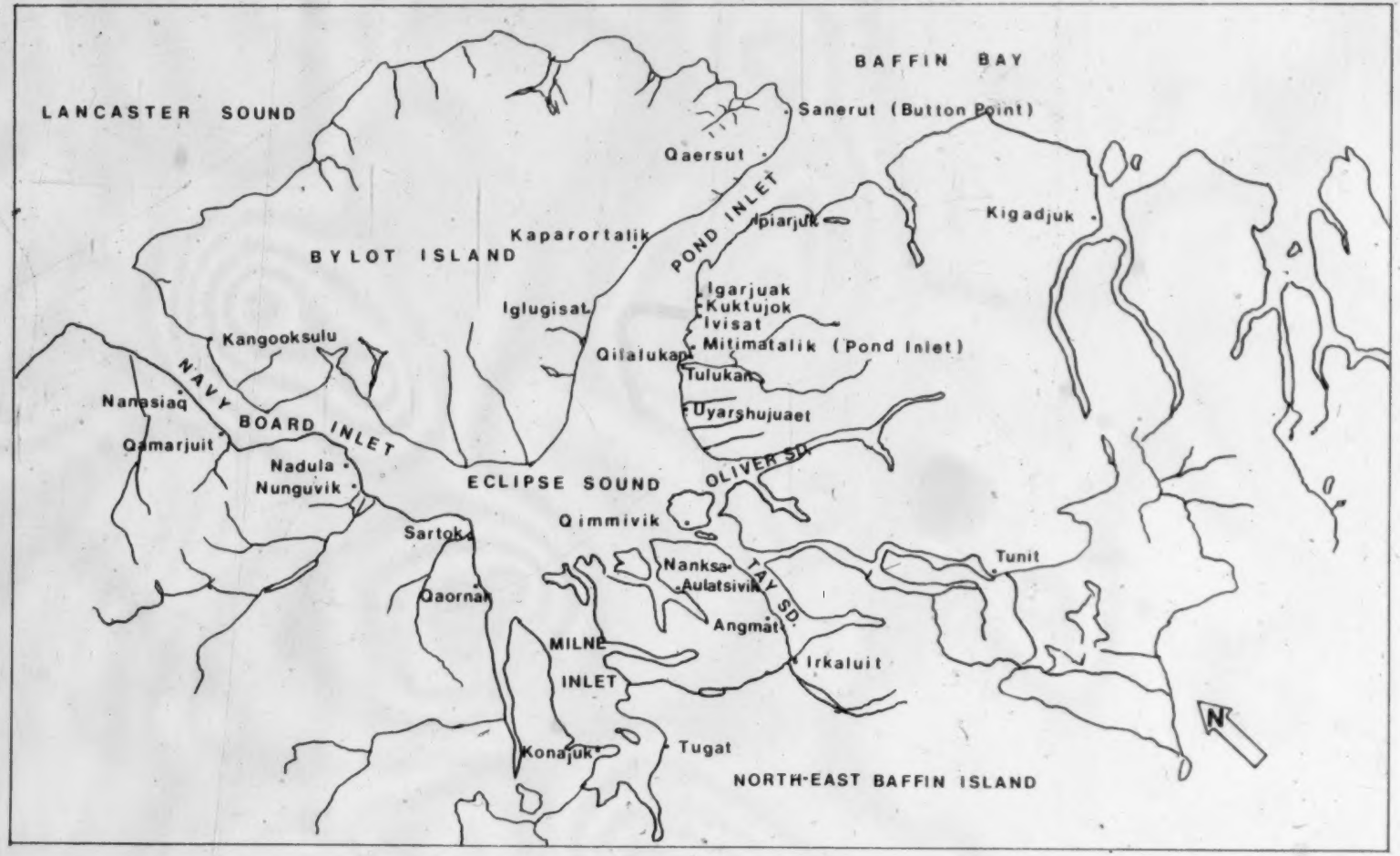

FIGURE 4. Semi-Permanent Camps of the Tununirmiut
After Bissett, Northern Baffin Island: An Area Economic Survey

characteristic modes of relating with nature and the supernatural form a central part of the chapter. The remaining sections detail those values of the "time," "activity," and "relational" orientations characteristic of traditional Tununirmiut culture. A short summary concludes the chapter.

The Setting

Todays settlement of Pond Inlet is located on the northeast coast of Baffin Island opposite the southern end of Bylot Island, at approximately latitude 72°41' N, longitude 78°00' W (see Figure 1).

As recently as twenty-five years ago however, the Tununirmiut were scattered in a number of hunting camps along the irregular shores of Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet, (see Figure 4).[3] In addition to these semi-permanent "camps," a number of locations were popular for seasonal spring and summer "camps." Characteristically, these "camps" were composed of loosely knit family units. Before the arrival of the first Euro-Canadians and the introduction of their economy, the distribution of the Tununirmiut was even more scattered than that depicted in Figure 4. It appears they may have ranged as far south as the present settlement of Igloolik and as far north as Ellesmere Island. For the present study however, the traditional Tununirmiut setting was restricted to that general area depicted in Figure 4.

The physiography and climate of the Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet area had a major influence on the traditional Tununirmiut culture, including the features discussed in this chapter. As these environmental features are significant for understanding the traditional Tununirmiut, they are briefly discussed below.

The major physiographic features of the area, as depicted in Figure 5,[4] largely determined the availability of game animals, which in turn controlled the Tununirmiut subsistence cycle discussed in the next section. The most prominant physiographic features of the region are: the mountain range which extends along the east coast of Baffin Island and encompasses most of Byot Island, and Eclipse Sound with its numerous inlets and secondary sounds.

The mountains and associated highlands, with elevations in excess of 5,000 feet and extensive snowfields and glaciers, present a major barrier to overland travel - a barrier which restricted the traditional Tununirmiut, for the most part, to travel by the areas waterways. One of the few overland routes to the south and west is a broad valley running from the head of Oliver Sound to the north arm of Coutts Inlet.

Squatting between the highlands and mountains on one side, and the waters of Eclipse Sound on the other, is a small zone of lowlands, the Salmon Lowland. This relatively well vegetated level area was a popular location for many traditional Tununirmiut "camps," and is where the present settlement of Pond Inlet is located.

Bylot Island presents a formidable barrier to overland travel to the north, marked as it is by precipitous cliffs and an extensive mountain range. The only relief to the mountainous terrain is a series of hills which encircle the north and west shores, and a low drift plateau to the southwest corner. The only travel routes to the north are the waterways of Navy Board Inlet and Pond Inlet.

To the south and west, Eclipse Sound is marked by a number of inlets and secondary sounds. Forming broad ridges between these fiord-like inlets, is the Tay Sedimentary Region. Inland to the south and west extend a

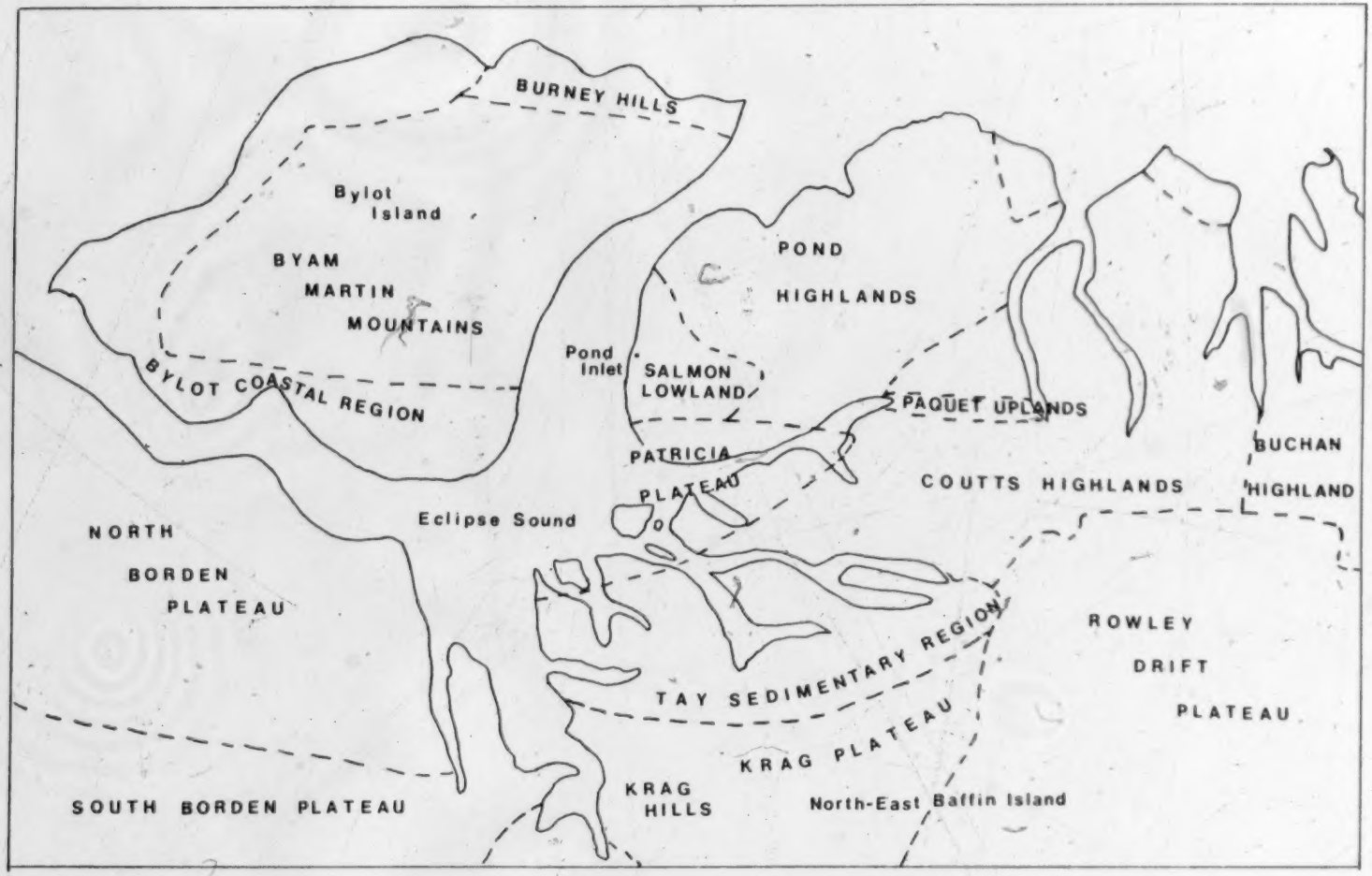

FIGURE 5. Physiograph of N. Baffin Island

number of plateaus and hills, and a series of entrenched valleys which provide a natural overland route to the south.

Encircled by physiological barriers as they were, the Tununirmiut remained relatively isolated from intercourse with other Inuit. Occasionally they made the trip down the coast, or overland, to the east where they communicated with the ancestors of the modern Clyde River people. More often, they travelled the natural overland routes to the southwest where they traded with the ancestors of the modern Igloolik people. Despite these occasional journeys, however, it was the overall geographic isolation of the people that characterized traditional Tununirmiut culture.

In general, the climate of the region is characterized by long cold winters and cool short summers. The extensive mountain range, with its snowfields and glaciers, tends to moderate extremes of summer temperature, with the mean maximum for July, for example, being only 42 degrees fahrenheit. In the winter, maritime influences have a similar moderating influence on extremes of cold, with the recorded minimums seldom going below -30 degrees fahrenheit.

Snowfall generally decreases across northern Baffin Island from east to west, and in the Pond Inlet area usually averages twenty-six inches annually. Rainfall averages 2.87 inches annually, with a maximum reached in July. Prevailing winds are variable, but generally from the south in winter and northeast in summer.

Climatic conditions and physiography combine to produce dwarfed, sparse, poorly developed plant life in the region. The few exceptions to this rule, such as the Salmon and Bylot lowlands, provide an essential link in the food chain to higher mammals. These lowland regions, together with incidental plant communities surviving along the coasts, rivers, and lakes of the region, are sufficient to support the caribou and other

land animals.

Of all the features of the regions natural setting however, it was the animal life which was of most importance to the traditional Tununirmiut. The range and availability of the animals was the central determinant of Tununirmiut survival. As it was this animal life that largely determined Tununirmiut subsistence activities, discussion of this aspect of the natural setting was reserved for the next section.

Tununirmiut Relations with Nature and the Supernatural

The Subsistence Cycle of the Qilalukanmiut

Although the Tununirmiut were generally bound together as an interacting community or "tribe," the numerous family units, or "camps," carried on a relatively independent cycle of subsistence activity at certain times of the year. The people of Nadlua, on Navy Board Inlet, for instance, carried on a distinctly different annual subsistence cycle from the people of Qilalukanmiut (see Figure 4). Occasionally these cycles overlapped at common locations, but their central feature was one of independence. While generalizations can be made of the Tununirmiut annual subsistence cycle, it is important to recognize the variations among the various "camps" of these people.

Generally, the Tununirmiut located semi-permanent camps in areas with sufficient sea mammal resources. Short moves were commonly made to seasonal camp locations to hunt caribou or fish, and these moves were, for the most part, determined by the availability of these species. Mathiassen has suggested the following general delineation of the traditional

Tununirmiut subsistence cycle:

> 1) a period comprising the whole or part of summer, autumn and the first half of winter, when caribou hunting is the principal occupation, with the addition of salmon fishing now and then; settlements in the interior of the country or at places at the coast from which there is easy access to the caribou areas. 2) Another period, covering the latter half of winter, from the time when the sewing of caribou skins ended (January-February), spring and a part (as far as some are concerned the whole) of summer when they live on hunting aquatic mammals, walrus and narwhal from the ice edge, utoq and breathing-hole hunting of seals and hunting the seal, narwhal or walrus from boats and kayaks. In this period the settlements are on points or islands or on the sea ice itself (1928; 35-6).

To investigate this subsistence cycle in more depth a representative group, the Qilalukanmiut, or "people of Qilalukan", was selected. The semi-permanent home of the Qilalukanmiut was located several kilometers southwest of the present settlement of Pond Inlet on a small point of land on the projecting delta of a small stream, (see Figure 4). It has been documented that Qilalukan was not only the home for the traditional Qilalukan considered here, but the home of their ancestors for centuries before (Mathiassen, 1927; 136-98). The Qilakukanmiut are depicted below as they lived some one hundred and fifty years ago just prior to the arrival of the first whalers . . . .

Spring Sealing. May is marked in the Pond Inlet region by the sun climbing higher above the mountains of Bylot Island, and moderating temperatures. It is the time of year then the ringed seals begin to bask on the sea ice of Eclipse Sound. For the Qilalukanmiut this time of year marked the beginning of utoq hunting - an activity which would continue on an intermittent basis until break-up in late July. Prior to the introduction of guns, hunting the basking seals was accomplished by

imitating the seal and wriggling across the ice to within harpooning range (Parry, 1821; 171). Boas has described how such techniques often took upwards to an hour in poor conditions and were only occasionally successful (1964; 75-6). In more recent years this technique was replaced by the method of crouching behind a white colored cloth shield. This more recent technique was not noted however, by Boas (1881; 471-85) or Mathiassen (1928; 37-46) in their early investigations, and it must be considered a modern adaptation to the introduction of such Euro-Canadian materials as the gun and cloth goods.

Hunting at the Floe-edge. An important location for spring activity was the floe-edge near Button Point (Sanerut), (see Figure 4). Evidence indicates that Button Point was not only a popular location during the era of the Qilalukanmiut, but that their ancestors had used the location for centuries before.[5] The region remains to this day rich with such marine life as the ringed and bearded seals, narwhal, walrus, and salmon.

The abundance of these animals is due to the floe-edge - a phenomena resulting from strong currents and prevailing winds. These currents and winds produce constantly moving "fast ice" which create "leads" of open water along ridges of land held ice. It is this open water that attracts the sea mammals and makes the area an important hunting area for the Inuit. Such climatic conditions create a floe-edge near Button Point, and it was this floe-edge that atracted many of the Tununirmiut, including the Qilalukanmiut. Migration to the floe-edge commonly occurred in May or June, but varied from group to group and year to year, as conditions changed.

Hunting the ringed seal was the most common occupation at the floe-edge. The technique involved harpooning the seal as it surfaced to breathe or, as it lazed on the surface. The essential difference in the

harpoon used at the floe-edge was that the harpoon line was led through a loop on the shaft. As the harpoon was commonly thrown, the line, attached as it was to the harpoon shaft, was usually the only way to retrieve the harpoon and, the animal.

A most important animal hunted by the Qilalukanmiut at the floe-edge was the bearded seal. These animals were far less common than the ringed seal and were rarely killed at the breathing hole, or on the ice at all before break-up. Despite these difficulties in obtaining this species, it was extremely important to the Qilalukanmiut as a source of skin for rope and boot soles. For these reasons the bearded seal was actively pursued at the floe-edge. The methods utilized were not unlike those used to hunt the ringed seal, with the exception that it usually required two or more hunters to haul out the larger seal.

A third seal, the harp, is occasionally sighted at the floe-edge, but tends to be very thin in the spring and sinks rapidly when killed. A much faster animal than the slower ringed seal, the harp seal proves a difficult animal to kill and was, as a rule, not actively sought by the Qilalukanmiut. Most harp seal kills tended to be more by chance, than by design.

Another animal of the floe-edge is the walrus. Because of often hazardous conditions however, the Qilalukanmiut were seldom successful in hunting this animal. The currents and winds of Baffin Bay tend to be particularly strong and the "fast ice" is, as a result, prone to shifting and breaking up. These conditions make it dangerous for those who venture beyond that ice securely locked to the land. For this reason the Qilalukanmiut were seldom able to pursue the walrus onto the drifting ice floes where they commonly "hauled out." Instead, the Qilalukanmiut had

to be content to kill those few walrus that occasionally made their way near the floe-edge. This situation was in sharp contrast to the conditions in northern Foxe Basin, for example, where the natives of the area were able to proceed onto the "fast ice" in pursuit of the walrus. Under these conditions the walrus became a much more important game animal for the Foxe Basin Inuit than they were for the Qilalukanmiut.

It was the arrival of the narwhal at the floe-edge, however, that was the most eagerly awaited event for the Qilalukanmiut. Since the time of earliest recollection the migrating narwhal have annually massed in the open water of the floe-edge in late July, where they await the break-up of Pond Inlet and Eclipse Sound. The narwhal has always provided an important source of food to the Tununirmiut, and the skin, muktuk, was a particularly favorite delicacy. Should the Qilalukanmiut have been successful in killing such a whale it would have been cause for great celebration. The meat from a single whale was sufficient to supply the Qilalukanmiut with food for up to a month. While the narwhal was thus eagerly pursued, it is unlikely such effort was more than rarely awarded prior to the introduction of the gun.

Upon their arrival at the floe-edge the narwhal tend to pack into patches of open water as near as possible to the shore, so that they might avoid their only enemy beside man, the killer whale. The more adventurous Qilalukanmiut would pursue the narwhal from the kayak in the openings of fast ice, but the more usual method was to hunt from the edge of the stable ice. The specialized harpoon used for the larger sea mammals, such as the narwhal and walrus, differed from the seal harpoon only in overall size and the harpoon head itself. Attached to the harpoon line was usually a sealskin float which acted as a resistance to the

wounded animal's struggle. A second contrivance, a seal skin stretched over a hoop and attached to the harpoon line, served as a drag anchor to slow down and exhaust the animal (Mathiassen, 1928; 42-52; Boas, 1888; 493-501). For all these implements, the whale was still extremely difficult to capture, and it was the common rule that even a wounded animal would often escape into Baffin Bay where it could not be pursued.

Hunting With the Kayak. Although the kayak was occasionally used by the more fearless at the floe-edge, it was when the ice of Eclipse Sound had dissipated that hunting from the kayak became an important component of the Qilalukanmiut subsistence cycle.

Perhaps the kayak more than any other single Inuit technological innovation is best known. Briefly, the kayak was made of a driftwood frame and a sealskin covering, which yielded a light, extremely manouverable vessel (Boas, 1888; 486-9). From the kayak the Qilalukanmiut customarily pursued the ringed seal and, less commonly, the bearded seal, walrus, and narwhal. The seal harpoon used while hunting from the kayak was essentially the same as that used at the floe-edge, except that the previously mentioned sealskin float was an essential addition. This float served to keep the seal afloat, where it would have otherwise sank when killed. The usual technique was to harpoon the seals that were basking on the surface, and it was the kayak's ability to move silently through the water that admirably suited this technique (Boas, 1888; 489-94; Mathiassen, 1928; 46).

The walrus was a much more formidable foe and was rarely attacked at close quarters, as it was on occasion prone to attacking the hunter. It was not until the float and drag anchor had completely exhausted the animal that the hunter dared to approach near enough to inflict the final

death blow (Boas, 1888; 497; Mathiassen, 1928; 49).

Hunting the narwhal from the kayak probably proved no more successful than those efforts at the flow edge. The prevalent technique employed by the Qilalukanmiut was to work cooperatively on a hunt. Two or more hunters would attempt to drive the whales to shallow water near the shore, where the animals were then harpooned. Once harpooned, the hunters would work to keep the animal close to shore until it was exhausted by the float and drag anchor. The exhausted animal was then speared many times over so that it eventually died from a loss of blood.

Fishing at the Stone Weir. While the Qilalukanmiut would on occasion supplement sealing or caribou hunting with fishing at inland lakes, it was at those times of the annual fall and spring salmon runs that they engaged in fishing as a primary occupation. For the Qilalukanmiut, the favorite fishing location was Salmon River, several kilometers southwest of Qilalukan. Here the Qilalukanmiut would build their stone weirs, saputit, across the mouth of the river in anticipation of the spring run. As the fish moved down to the sea they would be trapped by these walls of stone and fall prey to the salmon fish spear, kakivaq. In the fall the technique would be repeated, but inland at the head of the river. The fish thus caught, provided welcome relief to the steady diet of seal meat.

The Caribou Hunt. While the Qilalukanmiut pursued the caribou whenever the opportunity arose, it was in the summer and fall when the skin was suitable for clothing, that they actively sought the animal. Trying to document the movements of the Qilalukanmiut in search of the caribou in any one year is at best, educated speculation. The Peary caribou of northern Baffin Island do not migrate on the scale of other herds such as

the Barren Ground caribou, and in any one year one cannot always predict their movements. It does appear however, that the Peary caribou generally move toward coastal areas in the spring, and back to the highlands of the interior in the fall. The people of Pond Inlet could remember past occasions when caribou migrated within a few miles of the settlement, but such sightings had not been made in recent years. While Mathiassen has made reference to hunting caribou from the kayak (1928; 53-9), this technique was seldom used by the Qilalukanmiut because the caribou seldom migrated in any numbers across bodies of water. More probably, the Qilalukanmiut hunted the Peary caribou on the inland plateaus to the south of Eclipse Sound. The migration to these caribou grounds was a major, often arduous journey. Usually the trip was made overland by foot, although kayaks were probably used in certain years. Overland travel meant that only the most necessary supplies could be taken, and even with these restrictions the travellers and their pack dogs were considerably ladened.

Once the Qilalukanmiut reached the caribou grounds seasonal camp was set, and the men set out after the caribou. A number of techniques were used to hunt the caribou, but stalking with the bow and arrow appears to have been the main method.[6] This method took considerable skill and patience, as the caribou proved to be extremely alert and easily frightened. It was necessary for the hunter to approach up wind of the animal using whatever cover was available. Often the final distance was covered by crawling. A second method employed was that of imitating the form and sound of the animal to deceive it while approaching for the kill (Boas, 1964; 100).

Dependent on the availability of caribou and the success of the hunt, the Qilalukanmiut remained on the inland plateaus as late as February or

March. More likely, however, hunting the Caribou would begin to prove doubtful by late December, and the Qilalukanmiut would begin to prepare for the trip back to Qilalukan.

Seal Hunting at the Breathing Hole. By the end of October shore-ice is usually sufficiently formed to allow sled travel, and the ice-covered inland lakes allow for ice-fishing. By mid-November freeze up is ordinarily completed and winter fully set in. It was at this general time of year that the Qilalukanmiut returned to Qilalukan.

Qilalukan was a major winter settlement, and many of the family groups which had scattered their separate ways during the summer months returned there for the winter. Winter reduced the number of subsistence options available to the people, and the coordinated effort of many was often necessary to survive this harshest period of the year. The Qilalukanmiut food source was reduced primarily to the seal, and its successful kill would become increasingly difficult as the cold of January and February set in.

During winter the seal, as a rule, takes to the smoother shore ice where it maintains a series of open breathing holes by constantly scratching away the ice. It was at these breathing holes that the Qilalukanmiut waited for the seal to surface.

An innovative set of hunting gear was used by the Qilalukanmiut in conjunction with breathing hole techniques. Such gear included: the harpoon, with its head and line; a seal thong draw line used for dragging the seal out of the hole; a set of hunting gear often including harpoon rests, wound plugs, drag line handles, and assorted other loose objects; the breathing hole searchers, the seal indicator, and a seal hook

(Mathiassen, 1929; 37-46).

The hunt itself, commenced with the location of a breathing hole. On occasion when the snow as deep or drifted, a dog was used to scent the hole. Once located, a hole searcher was used to determine the size and angle so that the hunter would know where to throw his harpoon should a seal surface. If the wait was expected to be long, the hunter often built a small wall of shelter from blocks of snow, and created a small snow seat on which to sit. The harpoon was placed on rests, and the seal indicator set vertically in the hole. The long wait would now begin.

If a seal should surface, the hunter would thrust the harpoon through the centre of the hole toward the intended target. If successful, the hunter would haul the seal to the ice by the harpoon line and administer a death blow to the seal's head.

As one seal used a number of breathing holes, several hunters often worked together to cover all the holes and maximise the potential success of the hunt. The sea ice near Qilalukan was particularly favorable for these cooperative hunting techniques, and this feature no doubt was the central factor for so many family groups to winter at Qilalukan. It was not unusual for several Tununirmiut groups to undertake a migration to Qilalukan because the conditions in their home area were not particularly suited for hunting at the seal breathing hole. Such was the case for those Tununirmiut who lived in the Paquet Bay and Tay Sound areas, where occasional heavy snow conditions made locating breathing holes extremely difficult.

A further climatic condition assisted the winter seal hunt in the Qilalukan region. Twice monthly the tides create open cracks in the ice which are frequented by seals. Hunting at these ice cracks usually met

with good success, and was an important winter method.

Secondary Activities. In addition to the above subsistence activities, the Qilalukanmiut enjoyed a number of secondary options. Arctic hare made an enjoyable supplement to the steady diet of seal and caribou, and hunters occasionally devoted their energies directly toward hunting this animal. The favored time of year for hunting the hare was in spring, when they were most conspicuous against the landscape. The hare was usually caught by placing baleen snares across old tracks.

It was while the Qilalukanmiut were at the floe-edge in the spring, that birds were a significant food source. At other times of year birds were strictly of secondary importance, with the occasional ptarmigan or greater snow goose being taken. At the floe-edge waterfowl abound, with many, such as the murre, nesting on the cliffs which mark the southeast coast of Bylot Island. Perhaps the most important harvest by the Qilulakanmiut was the gathering of murre eggs during a two-week period at the beginning of July. Commonly, the cliffs were scaled with ropes by only the bravest of men, as it was a hazardous undertaking which on more than one occasion resulted in death. While the favored murre eggs are available during a limited period, those of other species are available over longer periods, and the Qilalukanmiut usually harvested these eggs until the sea ice, which provided access to cliffs, became unsafe for travel.

Hunting fox was a minor activity for the Qilalukanmiut prior to the arrival of Euro-Canadians. If at all, fox were trapped in the winter along the coastline with traps made of rocks. Traditionally, this activity was always associated with the primary winter activity of seal hunting.

Prior to trading relations with Euro-Canadians, hunting the polar bear was also of secondary importance to the Qilalukanmiut. Perhaps the

most significant factor in hunting the polar bear was the prestige it offered to the successful hunter. The Qilalukan hunted the polar bear in their favorite denning areas along the east coast of Bylot Island. Infrequently solitary bears were taken in early spring on the ice of Eclipse Sound. The common method of bear hunting was to employ dogs to occupy the bear while the hunters attempted to get within spearing range. With the introduction of guns and the value of the skin as a trade item, polar bear hunting became increasingly important.

Value Preferences

From the preceeding description it becomes evident that the Qilalukanmiut, and the Tununirmiut in general, were very dependent on their environment. Literature on other Inuit sub-groups is almost unanimous in declaring a similar relationship,[7] and a common cultural feature appears to have been this "manipulation" of nature. While technology and individual qualities contributed to this ability to manipulate the environment, it was a community of rituals and ceremony that provided the Inuit with a means of maintaining and restoring harmony with an often malevolent nature. The predominant Inuit relational value with respect to nature then, was that while it might be manipulated, it was also to be respected and, at all costs, never offended. Reconciling manipulation on the one hand, with respect on the other, was commonly achieved through a number of supernatural beliefs and religious observances.

The traditional Tuninirmiut world was pervaded by what they believed to be supernatural forces or, "that sphere populated by spirits and forces which have to be taken into account in everyday life, requiring the

practice of magic and sacred rituals, and the observance of a great variety of rules of conduct" (Vallee, 1961; 162). Tuninirmiut cosmology did not distinguish between this supernatural world and that world of natural forces. The supernatural was no more than a personification of natural forces, and spirits were believed to control both the natural world and the major events in human life. For the Tununirmiut, these spirits were in every way as much a part of their world as the everyday tangible world in which they moved.

Tununirmiut beliefs provided explanation of those matters of life and death that were not self-evident, and allowed a "rational" conclusion to those events which could not normally be explained by a rather limited scientific horizon. For the Tununirmiut there was little difficulty moving from the tangible to the world of spirits, and back again. Real and imagined logic was based on the best of experiences, combined with unquestioned supernatural "truths."

On those rare occasions when the Tununirmiut could not attribute events to experience or supernatural explanation, fatalistic acceptance served to relieve the doubt and unpleasantness that accompanied the uncertain mind. Fatalism was most notable as the unquestionable acceptance of supernatural beliefs and observances.

Mastering nature, the third value position, was a concept little understood by the Tununirmiut. While effort could be exerted to "manipulate" the environment, this manipulation was influenced by supernatural beliefs and observances directed at maintaining harmony with the spirits behind natural forces. Natural forces were believed to be all-powerful; the Tununirmiut insignificant in comparison, and only the most powerful of shamans could hope to influence these forces directly.

Tununirmiut cosmology was based on a number of relatively short myths that provided the basis for much of the way life was viewed. This world view and its associated cosmological notions can be conveniently divided into the past, present and future.[8]

Explanations of the past consisted of a number of creation myths which, taken collectively, revealed a number of underlying assumptions. The most significant of these assumptions include: human wickedness produced evil, and taboos were established to control the malevolent spirits which came into being as a consequence of man's wickedness; and the natural and supernatural worlds were created simultaneously with the establishment of a moral order and associated taboos.

Tununirmiut explanations of the present can be grouped by a number of basic assumptions. Underlying the Tununirmiut view of the physical world and the supernatural forces behind it was the assumption that life was dangerous and controlled by the spirits. For the most part, these spirits were considered to be evil or of uncertain intentions, and, as a result, life was lived in a state of perpetual fear of sudden attack by these baleful spirits.

Tununirmiut spirits can be divided into: human souls, animal souls, amulets, the shaman's protective spirits, and major deities. Human souls were of three types: (1) the personal soul, or life force possessing an individual with the will and energy to survive; (2) the name soul, possessing a power and ability to protect the name bearer; and (3) souls of the deceased which, if transformed to the living, imparted upon that person the character of the deceased. Each animal possessed a soul and the Tununirmiut believed this soul had to be appropriately honored should the animal be killed. Associated with this belief were a number of taboos

which, if observed, prevented the animal's soul from turning into a malignant ghost. Amulets received power from its resident spirit, and as a rule had a narrow function, such as bringing luck when hunting specific animals, improving specific personal qualities such as strength, and assisting with shamanistic communion with supernatural forces. The shaman had a number of helping spirits particular to him which he could call upon and harness for his benefit.

Above all the lesser spirits, the Tununirmiut believed in three major deities: Kunna, Sila, and Tarqeq. Of these, Kunna, the spirit of the sea, played by far the most important role in Tununirmiut life. In some respects her power resided over both Sila, the weather spirit, and Tarqeq, the moon spirit. Her supreme powers lie in the belief that the food of all mankind was under her control and could only be obtained from her under certain conditions, and by observing strict taboos. Failure to observe these taboos angered Kunna and she would subsequently withhold the animals upon which the Tununirmiut depended. Maintaining the good will of Kunna, therefore, was central to survival, according to Tununirmiut belief.

Tununirmiut explanations of the future were based on the assumption that supernatural life existed prior to birth and carried on after death. A number of taboos were associated with death as a strategy to ensure the deceased's spirit did not turn into an evil ghost, but was transferred to the afterworld. The belief in the afterworld was closely related to the basic values surrounding human behavior; energy, endurance and fearlessness being qualities most rewarded, while lazyness, idleness, and apathy being qualities which were punished.

Tununirmiut supernatural observances can be divided into two cat-

egories: (1) minor rituals, magic words, ceremonial observance, taboos and elementary witchcraft; and (2) shamanistic practices. The most significant of the first category is the observance of taboos. Taboos were the cornerstone of Tununirmiut religious behavior, being concerned not only with subsistence activities, but such critical life phases as birth and death. While taboos were not considered to be utilitarian by the Tununirmiut, the consequences of observing many of them was socially significant. Taboos which separated land and sea activities served to channel effort, support the subsistence cycle, confirm the dualistic nature of Tununirmiut life, and reconfirm religious concepts. Taboos also functioned to give meaning to events or situations largely beyond the Tununirmiut's control, while creating a defense mechanism over uncontrolled or unpredicted dangers.

The angakok, or shaman, occupied the important position in Tununirmiut society of being an intermediary between the spirits and human beings. Only the shaman, with his special powers, could affect contact with the spirits which controlled the forces of nature and the events of everyday life. He alone could travel to, and gain entry into, the realms of Kunna, Sila or Tarqeq. The shaman functioned to exert influence or control over environmental threats endangering the group, individual or group crises, and interpersonal behavior. The importance of the shaman was particularly felt in times of environmental disasters, when it became his role to reestablish balance with the spirits believed to have caused the disaster. To this aim, the shaman was believed capable of attracting game and creating favorable climatic conditions. In the normal course, such crises were usually believed to be precipitated by transgression of taboos and, with the discovery of these transgressions, simple confession of the deed

was often sufficient to reestablish harmony with nature and resolve the crisis. Individual or group crises were similarly believed to be precipitated by the breaking of taboos which angered the spirits and, in turn, caused them to attack the Tununirmiut. Again, the shaman functioned to discover the "what and who" of the transgression, and to drive off the evil spirit in question. A final role of the shaman in Tununirmiut society was that of a mediator of interpersonal relations, particularly as they concerned acts of aggression. Shamanizing was viewed as a legitimate expression of such aggression, and, not uncommonly, incantations were performed for the purposes of revenge or restitution. Finally, a number of shamanistic performances can only be interpreted as attempts by the shaman to enhance and maintain his personal prestige and respect.

Within a relatively classless, power diffuse society, the shaman was the major exception - enjoying considerable power, prestige, and comparative wealth. In general, the shaman functioned to bring the Tununirmiut world together - to integrate the diverse elements of Tununirmiut society into a dynamic unity. As such, the shaman held a central role in Tununirmiut society.

The shaman's importance was tempered however, by an ambivalent blending of both good and evil elements. This ambivalence placed some question on the value of the role of the shaman as a mechanism for social control. Instead of most rules of moral conduct being invested in Tununirmiut concepts of the supernatural or the associated role of the shaman, what moral code that existed was commonly formulated in terms of secular rules. One of the reasons for the seeming flexibility of Tununirmiut society to change can be traced in part to the fact that those norms governing man's relations were not sanctified by explicit supernatural

rules (Vallee, 1961; 165). Further consideration is given this point in Chapter 6, as it relates to the effects of Euro-Canadian contact on contemporary Tununirmiut society.

Relating to Time and Activity

The view frequently expressed in the literature accords with the impression of the Inuit as an "existentialist" living for today, or the immediate future.[9] These "here and now" Inuit behavioral patterns represent an inextricably interwoven profile of "time" and "activity" value orientations. This interwoven web of values gave rise to an underlying Tununirmiut leisure ethos, which permeated the spirit of most behavior. Forming such an essential pattern of meaning in Tununirmiut culture as it did, this leisure ethic restricted expression of alternate value preferences to isolated occasions. It wolld be this leisure ethic which would clash in later years with the Euro-Canadian work ethic.[10] The two essential ingredients giving rise to this ethic were the Tununirmiut's preference of "present" time and "being" activity modes.

Much as the sun's return and the season's cycle could be predicted, the Tununirmiut believed time to be a circular, eternally returning phenomena. Time did not march on, it was never lost or spent; the very nature of the cycle of the natural world confirmed time was circular. Circular time gave meaning to the natural rhythms of the universe, and vice versa.

Not surprisingly, the Tununirmiut gave little attention to the past or the future. The most notable link to an orientation to the past was the unquestionable acceptance of ritual and ceremony, and the oral trad-

itions handed down from generation to generation. A modest form of ancestral worship was associated with the belief in name souls. Beside these examples, relating to the past was a secondary mode of Tununirmiut expression. A last and little understood choice for the Tununirmiut was the concept of future time. Although the Tununirmiut had some belief in the afterlife, these concepts were poorly developed and, for the most part, had only a minimum effect on life.

Characteristically, Tununirmiut behavior was spontaneous and determined by the immediate exigences of the situation. Supporting this expressive mode was a functionally diffuse social structure, considered in the subsequent section. Behavior, for the most part, was an expression of what was "felt" or "given," rather than what was "expected" of a particular situation or role. Being as dependant on the immediate conditions of their environment as the traditional Tununirmiut were, it is not suprising they developed such spontaneous expressive modes.

Expressions of alternative activity preferences were isolated primarily to the economic sphere. Vallee has suggested the literature on the Inuit is characteristically unanimous in noting the Inuit as an achiever, a man of action, rather than a man of thought (1961; 28). This achievement orientation served the Tununirmiut well in their struggle to survive in an inhospitable environment. With the above exception however, "doing" activity modes were strictly controlled and subordinate to the dominant preference for "being" activity. Sharing as it does with the "being" orientation the concern for what a person is rather than the role he may occupy, expression of "being-in-becoming" activity preferences were tolerated in Tununirmiut society providing its expression neither exploited nor sacrificed others. The Tununirmiut struggle to meet the basic

needs of survival (Maslow, 1971), however, largely precluded the expression of self-actualizing behavior (being-in-becoming).

Given that the dominant values articulating time and activity were inextricably interwoven, it could be expected that many Tununirmiut behavioral patterns would serve to illustrate both "present" time and "being" activity preferences. Such patterns were indeed common and, because they are in such direct contrast to Euro-Canadian modes, have received considerable mention in the literature.[11] Rothney has suggested such patterns often form the basis of an "Indian problem solving approach" which characterizes most Euro-Canadian attempts to assimilate the "natives" into the mainstream of Canadian society (1970; 176-201).

Perhaps the most notable of these "problem patterns," as Rothney would suggest they are considered by most Euro-Canadians, is that of the habit of non-accumulation. It needs to be noted that such non-accumulative habits, in addition to reflecting value preferences, admirably suited the nomadic lifestyle of the Inuit. Indeed, the limitations imposed by the environment, and the nomadic life style that served as a survival strategy to meet these limitations, precluded the accumulation of a number of possessions. As an expression of value preferences, immediate consumption of food was a common behavioral pattern. Inevitably, a "feast" followed the successful killing of an animal. As a rule, such feasting continued until the animal was completely devoured or the consumers were gorged - whichever came first. This inclination for feastive behavior is discussed as an example of a Tununirmiut recreation pattern in the next chapter. Also serving to encourage non-accumulative habits were a number of social arrangements, including sharing partners, communal property, and reciprocal exchange, discussed in the next section.

As previously noted, the expression of alternate time and activity preferences were restricted primarily to the economic sphere. Another significant channel for such alternate expression was recreation behavior. Particularly notable was the planning and preparation that accompanied song-duels, or the composition of songs in general. Such creative play forms as singing, dancing, story-telling, and carving appear to have been among the few modes in Tununirmiut society for expressing the "being-in-becoming" value. These, and other recreation patterns are discussed further in the next chapter.

Relating to Man

The theory of value variations is particularly helpful in adding to an understanding of the traditional Tununirmiut social organization. Utilizing the typical analytical framework commonly applied by sociologists and anthropologists would tend to establish Tununirmiut society as representative of either a "collective" or "individual" society.[12] Such a framework ignores the presence and interrelation of variant relational modes, and limits the understanding of the Tununirmiut society. Tununirmiut social organizations can be viewed as a flexible arrangement allowing the expression of all three value preferences for relating to man - collateral, lineal, and individual.

Of the three relational modalities, the Tununirmiut accorded most preference to the expression of collateral relations. Dominant sentiments placed value on the individual qualities of kindness, gratitude, affection, modesty, sociability, and good-humor: and controlled the expression of aggression, ill temper, jealousy, and anxiety. This con-

figuration of sentiments contributed to a strong normative network that sanctioned collateral behavior patterns.

A characteristic Inuit social arrangement for the expression of collateral preferences was the ilagiit, or extended family. While Vallee has noted that the extended family was not a particularly notable feature of the Barren Ground Inuit, this sub-group appears to be the only exception to this otherwise common characteristic of Inuit culture. The lack of this feature among the above group probably reflects the unique position held by this group as the only inland dwellers among the Inuit. All other Inuit groups developed cooperative techniques for hunting sea mammals - an arrangement that seems to have served the establishment of extended family aggregates.

Among the Tununirmiut, collective or cooperative hunting was particularly important as a winter activity. It was not unusual for as many as forty or fifty Tununirmiut to gather for the winter at such locations as Qilalukan, where the men would cooperatively hunt the seal. As such a social arrangement, cooperative hunting served to increase the potential for success at a time of year when the available food sources were strictly limited. Such techniques were not as essential during the spring, summer, and fall when there was a relative abundance of food sources. It was more likely at these times of the year for nuclear family groupings to function quite independently, although activity at the fishing weirs and floe-edge sometimes brought several such "families" together.

Characteristically, cooperative hunting involved all hunters as equal participants. Such decisions as where to hunt were commonly made by consensus. If leadership was a feature of such hunting arrangements

it was customarily expressed informally. Those whose skills at hunting were proven and who, from experience, made reasonable decisions were recognized for their opinions. Outside of such informal or "recognized" leadership, there were few divisions of labor or formalized roles, as Euro-Canadians know them.

As a social arrangement, the extended family also served as a source of security to the individual and the nuclear family, and helped to allay the fears and suspicions commonly associated with encountering non-related people. Exogamous marriage, wife exchange, and song partners, were several mechanisms used by the Tununirmiut to maintain and extend the ilagiit.

A second feature of Tununirmiut society which acted as a mainstay of collateral relations was reciprocal exchange. Reciprocal exchange assurred the equal distribution of food and acted as a security for individuals against personal misfortune. Functioning as means for channelling reciprocal arrangements were a number of social arrangements, including: sharing partners, feasts, and a precise and highly complex set of rules governing the division of game.

A final feature of collateral relations was the concept of communal property. Although the Tununirmiut had favorite hunting areas, they did not conceive the land, or its animals as being "owned." While the construction of such hunting aids as the fishing weir was usually the labor of one group, their use was seldom restricted. Caches of food could become the property of any person in their times of great need, although unrestrained "raiding" of such caches was not particularly approved. The general rule respecting property appears to have been that, that which was collectively used, was collectively owned. A feature of private

property was that it was "lent" or "borrowed" with few associated obligations or expectations. The violation of such loosely held property rights was seldom the cause of much concern among the Tununirmiut.

Within the Tununirmiut nuclear family, the dominant expressive relation was lineal. Labor was clearly divided by sex, and the male spouse had, as the household head, an accompanying level of authority and prestige. This authority was restricted however, to the jurisdiction of daily family matters. Beyond the elementary family unit, immediate relations were patrilineal. Vallee has noted that among the Keewatin groups early mortality among the men functioned against the establishment of elaborate patrilineages (1961; 58-9). The distinguishing feature of well developed patrilineages was the continuing vigor of the patriach. Authority then, did not strictly end at the elementary family, but resided in a social grouping of a small number of families related along the male line. Among the Tununirmiut early mortality probably limited such social groupings. A more common arrangement was probably a unit of two or more brothers, usually with the older brother as the head. A characteristic of leadership within these closely related nuclear family units was that it was "understood" or "recognized,"more than assigned, and could be transferred as situations changed.

Authority in Tununirmiut society was, to an extent, a function of seniority. Age,as a source of authority, commonly characterized most nuclear family relations. This authority could be withheld however, in cases where an individual, whether because of mental or physical limitations or old age, did not make a significant contribution to family security.

Expression of individualism, the final relational mode, was highly

valued when properly directed toward subsistence activity. In this respect, the Tununirmiut valued the personal qualities of self-confidence, self-reliance, energy and endurance. Other characteristic expressions of individualism, such as self-assertion and agression, were however, strictly controlled by a normative system. These norms usually produced considerable anxiety for the individual who found himself standing alone against the group. Outside of economic activity, examples of patterns of individualism were rare. A significant exception was competitive games, which are discussed in the next chapter.

Summary

At first glance one might assume Tununirmiut behavioral patterns were inconsistent and even contradictory. Cooperative hunting efforts were valued, while at the same time self-reliance and self-confidence were highly respected qualities. The nuclear family was marked by specific age and age roles, and yet the extended family unit was characteristically marked by diffuse roles and group decision-making. Nature was at one moment all powerful, and in the next controllable. One answer to how such seemingly contradictory values were integrated in Tununirmiut culture, lies in the value variation theory applied in this chapter.

Tununirmiut culture was a profile of dominant and subordinate value preferences which, as an integrated network, added meaning to the above behavioral patterns. This profile has been discussed in this chapter and is illustrated as Figure 6. This profile represents a congruient value configuration characterized by a relatively high degree of integration. The dominant Tununirmiut values were maintained and supported

VALUE ORIENTATION	PREFERENCE RANK ORDER
MAN-NATURE/ SUPERNATURAL	IN HARMONY > SUBJUGATION TO > MASTERY OVER (Strong preference for first order Harmony, but some expression of fatalism)
TIME	PRESENT > PAST > FUTURE (Strong preference for first order Present, but some expressions of ancestral worship and ceremonialism)
ACTIVITY	BEING > BEING-IN-BECOMING > DOING (Strong preference for first order Being)
MAN-MAN	COLLATERAL > LINEAL > INDIVIDUAL (Strong preference for all three orders)

FIGURE 6. Traditional Tununirmiut Value Profile

by a number of social structures and processes which encouraged appropriate behavioral modes.

Seeming to contradict this strain toward congruency, a second characteristic of the Tununirmiut value profile was its flexibility to the expression of alternate value preferences. This flexibility was particularly notable with respect to the relational modality value orientation, where alternate value preferences were sanctioned in formalized behavioral settings. This characteristic feature of Tununirmiut society points to a susceptibility to change, a factor which becomes important in considering contacts with Euro-Canadians.

Although flexibility would lead one to expect Tununirmiut society to be relatively free of tension and conflict, this was not the universal case. In fact, this very flexibility was cause for conflict. The most glaring example of this was a juxtaposition of individualism and collatuality, which proved a source of individual frustration and often led to a build-up of aggression. The fact that expressions of aggression were strictly controlled socially often led to an enormous internal build-up of such feelings. This internal build-up occasionally surfaced in dramatic and socially disruptive forms.

In spite of such strain, the Tununirmiut system endured for centuries. That it did, was in large part the result of a number of socially approved opportunities for variant behavior. A very important channel of outlet for aggressive tendencies was recreation behavior, such as song duels, songs of derision, boxing duels, and competitive athletic contests.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER III

[1]The "innate human nature" value orientation, as discussed by Kluckhohn (see Chapter II), has not been included as an area for study as it appears to relate closely to the other values. As a separate area of focus, this value orientation did not appear to be a fruitful orientation for comparison.

[2]Qilalukanmiut means literally, "the people of Qilalukan." For the location of Qilalukan see Figure 4, page 36.

[3]The semi-permanent camps located on Figure 4, page 36, are primarily those identified by Bissett (1970, vol. 1; 80). Modifications made to Bissett's work were based on Mathiassen's earlier work, Archeology of the Central Eskimos (1927; 131-221).

Not all of the camps indicated on Figure 4 were populated in any one era, and many had long since been abandoned when Bissett conducted his field work in the mid 1960's.

[4]The major physiological features indicated in Figure 4 are based on Bissett's work (1970, vol. 1; 6), which is after the Rand Reports (1967).

[5]Mathiassen's archeological work (1927; 206-12), and Rouseliere's more recent discoveries as documented in "Arts Canada," (December 1971; 32-47), support the contention that Button Point was used as early as the Dorset period.

[6]Mathiassen (1928; 53-9), and Boas (1888; 502-9) have described the various techniques popular for hunting caribou. It appears many of these methods were localized to particular groups, families, or even individuals.

[7]Mathiassen (1928) has provided one of the few detailed accounts of the Tununirmiut subsistence cycle. An excellent source for comparing this cycle to those of other Inuit groups are the various published volumes of the "Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24" series.

[8]Rasmussen has provided a comprehensive listing of the myths and legends making up the intellectual culture of not only the Igloolik Inuit, but the Caribou, Netsilik, and Copper Inuit groups as well (1929; 1930, 1931a., 1931b.). Balikci has provided a general framework for understanding the many religious observances of the Netsilik (1970; 197-238).

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

[9]Typical of this impression is the following quote:

> It must also be considered that the Eskimo never thinks much beyond the present ... He takes care of his problems for the day and trusts that he can do likewise tomorrow. (Fruechen, 1961; 141).

[10]Rothney (1970; 176-201) has provided an excellent insight, from a Marxist perspective, of the effects these differences in time and activity preferences have had on the Euro-Canadian approach toward Canadian native groups. Chapters 6 and 7 of this study were devoted in part, to describing the effects of such intercultural differences on contemporary Tununirmiut life.

[11]One of the earliest accounts of such behavioral patterns was that of Boas (1888). Other notable sources include; Hall (1865), Balikci (1970) and Rasmussen (1929). Indeed, most Inuit ethnographies and research make mention of similar behavioral patterns.

[12]Parson and Shils' polar continua of: universalism-particularism, affective-affective neutrality, and achievement-ascription, is an example from the sociology field (1962). Redfield's folk-urban continuum (1960), and Tonnies' Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft (1957), are only two of many other examples of this popular conceptualization.

Chapter IV

TRADITIONAL TUNUNIRMIUT RECREATION PATTERNS

Introduction

Within the traditional Tununirmiut culture described in the previous chapter, recreation patterns and behavior emerged and persisted. The role of recreation within this traditional culture was the focus of investigation for this chapter. To structure this inquiry the value variation theory discussed in Chapter 2 was applied.

The first section of the chapter details the relationship of traditional recreation patterns to Tununirmiut beliefs and rituals. The second section describes the traditional Tununirmiut preference for "present" time and "being" activity modes of expression, and the resulting leisure ethos which was the underlying spirit of Tununirmiut culture. The third section considers recreation within the traditional Tununirmiut social organization, and its relationship with the dominant "man-man" relational preferences.

Application of the theory of variation in value orientations has provided a new perspective for viewing traditional Tununirmiut culture - in this chapter it adds to understanding the role recreation played in this traditional culture. Throughout the chapter examples of recreation behavior patterns are noted which not only serve to support the dominant value preferences, but provide a legitimate mode of expressing alternate

values.

Tununirmiut Beliefs and Concomitant Recreation Behavior

The most characteristic aspect of traditional Tununirmiut attempts to understand and relate to their world was that little distinction was made between the natural and supernatural worlds. The Tununirmiut viewed supernatural phenomena as no more than a personification of natural forces, and most supernatural beliefs and observances were directed toward maintaining harmony with these natural forces. Tununirmiut recreation behavior often was concomitant, or imitative of these beliefs. Examples of such interrelated recreation behavior are plentiful in the literature, and this section attempts to assemble this information into a compendium.

Boas has noted an isolated occurrence of sun worship which provides an excellent first example of the interrelationship of nature and the supernatural, as manifested in recreation behavior (1901; 151). The Iglulik in this example, believed playing cat's cradle (string figures) when the sun was going south in the fall, would prevent or delay the sun's disappearance. The logic was that the sun would somehow be trapped in the meshes of the string used for the game. When the sun was returning, the game of cup-and-ball (ajagaq) was played in the belief that it would hasten its return. The taboo associated with playing cat's cradle at certain seasons of the year is a further example of sun worship and the merging of religion and recreation. (Jenness, 1922; 182-3).

The children's game of tarquijarneq, or the moon game, is an example of the supernatural personification of natural forces found in many Tununirmiut recreation activities (Rasmussen, 1929; 296-7). The text of

Rasmussen's description of the game serves to highlight this interwoven theme of the natural and supernatural:

> Children form up in a long line. The one who is to be the moon takes another player, and the pair place themselves a little distance from the rest. Some of those in the line now move off, pretending to search for fuel. As they pass by the one playing moon, they must pretend not to see him, and try to carry off the child. When the latter resists, they must cry out: "analuk, analuk" (an excrement). When they then add: "A piece of caribou suet, a piece of caribou suet" the child consents, one goes off with them. Thus they take the child with them, and hide it behind those in the line. The moon now suddenly discovers that the child is gone and must say: "But where is my child gone?" (1929; 246).

The child playing moon sets off in search of the child, eventually coming to the line of other children where he discovers the hidden child. Rasmussen's description continues as the one playing moon asks the child:

> "Who was the first one that took you?" And the child answers: "That one there". And now the moon begins to go for the others in earnest, trying to frighten them, and every time he gets hold of one, tickles him and ill-treats him as hard as he can (247).

It was the Tununirmiut song festival however, which was the epitome of the direct relationship between recreation and supernatural beliefs. Most such festivals took place during winter in the feast hut, or <u>qaggi</u>. Each <u>qaggi</u> was dedicated to a spirit and, as such, all singing and dancing within was sacred, and ceremoniously performed.[1] Rasmussen has elaborated on this direct relationship between song and spirit:

> Then, when the singing is to begin....The one who is to lead off with an original composition now steps forward, holding the large drum or tambourine, called qilaut, a term possibly related to the qilarsq previously mentioned; the art of getting into touch with

> spirits apart from the ordinary invocation. For qilaut means literally: "that by means of which the spirits are called up". This term for the drum, which with its mysterious rumbling dominates the general tone of songs, is doubtless a reminiscence of the time when all song was sacred. For the old ones believe that song came to man from the souls in the Land of the Dead, brought thence by a shaman; spirt songs are therefore the beginning of all song. And the direct relation of the songs to the spirits is also explained by the fact that every Eskimo who under the influence of powerful emotion loses control of himself, often breaks into song.... (1929; 228-9).

The Tununirmiut then, believed all songs, for whatever purpose, drew their inspiration from the old spirit songs. It was inconceivable to compose or sing songs without complete faith in the spiritual power of words.

Every Tununirmiut possessed a number of "magic" songs which could aid him in hunting particular animals, or be applied in elementary forms of witchcraft. But it was the shaman, or angakak, whose words and song were most powerful, and only he could attain the most intimate relationship with the spirits. It was the shaman who could summon helping spirits through song and incantation and use these spirits to cure the ill or attract game animals. It was only the greatest of shamans who, with their spells of emotion, could summon incantations and songs of sufficient strength and magic to communicate with the major deities such as Kunna, the sea spirit.

Many remarkable customs were associated with these Tununirmiut song festivals. Rasmussen has described one of the most characteristic of these customs which belonged to the Iglulingmiut, the ivijut game (1929; 241-3). When the song festival was all but completed and everyone had

had their chance to sing, the ivijut game would begin. Two men would leave the qaggi and return masked and comically dressed, one as a man, the other as a woman. The two would act as dumb performers, communicating only by sign or gesture. The first thing the masked ones would do was chase out all the men from the qaggi. Once assured no men remained hidden in the house, the two would dash out to where the men were assembled. One of the assembled men would then approach and tell the masked performers the women he wished to lie with for the coming night. The masked men would then re-enter the qaggi and return with the chosen woman, who joined the man who had asked for her. The couple would then once again return to the qaggi. All of the remaining women would then try, through all methods of laughing and joking to make the couple laugh. The couple was required to remain solemn and circle the qaggi, during which time the assembled women sang and the masked performers engaged in a lustful often grotesque pantomime of sexual intercourse. This pantomime, and the accompanying suggestive remarks of the women, were directed toward making the "chosen" couple laugh. If such carryings-on proved too much for the couple and they broke into laughter, the pair was not allowed to consumate their relationship. The game commonly continued until all the men and women had been paired off.[2]

Another favorite Tununirmiut festival was the Qulumertut. This festival commonly opened with a challenge between song partners. Rasmussen provided the following description of the commencement of this festival:

> The two rivals, each with a knife, embrace and kiss each other as they meet. The women are then divided into two parties. One party has to sing a song, a long, long, song which they keep on repeating, meantime the other group stand with uplifted arms waving gull's wings, the object

> being to see which side can hold out the longer... The women of the losing party then had to "stride" over to the others, who surrounded them in a circle, when the men had to try and kiss them (1929; 243).

The above opening activity was followed by all manner of competitive games of strength and endurance, including fierce boxing matches. Captain Mutch has provided the following insight into this Tununirmiut game:

> Two men strike each other on the shoulders, while their wives sit on the bed and sing until one of the men gives in. The one who is most enduring wins the game (Boas, 1907; 482).

A similar game appears to have been popular among the people of southern Baffin Island, but was associated more with celebrating the arrival of a stranger than with the Qulumertut festival (Boas, 1888; 609).

Gymnastic exercises were also popularly performed at the Qulumertut festival. The illustrations of the Igluligmiut woman Pakak, give an insight into the exercises commonly performed (Rasmussen, 1929; 128b). Most acrobatics consisted of a number of swinging and balancing feats performed on and around a seal thong strung either outdoors between two supports, or in the qaggi. Among the exercises performed was one where the individual attempted to hang by his toes from the thong. Being able to balance on the thong without using the hands, either in the sitting, kneeling, or standing positions, was considered another noteworthy accomplishment.

Among other activities commonly associated with this Tununirmiut festival was an archery contest in which the winner was the one most successful in hitting a small target set on a long pole. Arm pull, or "hook and crook," was another favorite festival game. The game commonly

commenced with two men stripping to the waist and sitting on a large skin mat. The object of the game was to interlock the opponent's arms, either at the elbow or wrist, and straighten it out (Boas, 1888; 609). Another game, arkarneq, resembled soccer-football, with the object for opposing teams to try to kick, throw, or carry a caribou skin ball stuffed with moss toward their opponent's goal (Rasmussen, 1929; 248).

Such rounds of athletic competition was followed by singing and dancing which commonly lasted all night. An important feature of this activity was the good natured song duel between the original song partners. These song partners would take turns singing songs of mockery about their opposite, and the gathered assembly of people would act to judge the respective singing skills of the contestants. Importantly, the songs were not so much judged by their ability to viciously belittle the opponent, as they were on their ability to amuse the audience.

The most important of the Tununirmiut feasts however, was the Kunna festival held every fall in honor of the sea spirit, Kunna. Kunna was considered by the Tununirmiut to be the single most important deity controlling their destiny (Boas, 1888; 603-9). She was capable, when offended, of withholding the sea mammals upon which the Tununirmiut depended for their survival. The central significance of the Kunna festival, then, was to appease the sea spirit Kunna in the hope she would offer up the sea mammals she controlled. The highlight of the feast was the shaman's séance performed in an attempt to communicate with Kunna, and ensure that the sea mammals would be plentiful for the coming winter.

The games and other recreation activity which accompanied this festival were, not surprisingly, closely interwoven with the religious and ceremonial observances noted above. The day following the shaman séance

was commonly devoted to games and song. In addition to many of the same games performed during the Qulumertut festival, several games were specific to this feast. One such game was a tug-of-war which pitted all those born in winter, the "ptarmigans," against all those born in summer, the "ducks." Commonly the outcome of this "contest of seasons" was interpreted by the Tununirmiut as an indication of the weather which could be expected for the coming winter. If the "ducks" were victorious winter would be late in coming and relatively moderate, while if the "ptarmigans" should win winter could be expected to be long and cold (Boas, 1901; 140-1).

The evening following the religious observances was commonly spent playing such games as nugluktaq and saqataq. Nugluktaq was a game consisting of a piece of bone with a small hole in it which hung freely by a thong from the qaggi roof, but was weighted down with a stone or similar object. The object of the game was for the players to try and thrust a thin stick into the hole in the bone. Saqataq was a game which commonly involved players sitting in a circle and spinning a dipper or similar object with a handle. Wilkinson has described a more elaborate setting for this game which he observed at a traditional Tununirmiut campground:

> The gambling ring was similar to the tent-ring, but made of larger stones spaced about two feet apart. At one time a large flat rock had sat in the center of the circle, but had been removed by Eskimos who had recently used the site for their tent. The game was apparently a version of what we call "spin the bottle". The Eskimos would all stand around the circle with one man in the center. This man would spin a cylindrical or oval-shaped stone on the flat base, and when it stopped collect a forfeit from the Eskimo at whom the spinning stone points. Then that man would move in and the play was repeated. (1955; 140-1).

This interesting feature of reciprocal exchange described by Wilkinson appears to have been characteristic of most gambling activity, including Nugluktaq. It has been noted in the previous chapter how reciprocal exchange was an important feature of traditional Tununirmiut society, and these games of chance appear to have functioned in support of this value.

Several examples of Tununirmiut creative play show a close inter-relationship with supernatural notions. Among these, story-telling was probably the favorite. It was through stories that the Tununirmiut passed on the myths and legends which were the basis of their cosmology. As such, story-telling was an important link between the past and the present - a link commonly interpreted through supernatural beliefs. Carving and drawing were other creative play forms which often served to link the Tununirmiut to their supernatural beliefs.

A further example of the direct relationship between recreation behavior and religion was the many taboos directly influencing recreation behavior - taboos often based on religious notions. Cats cradle, for instance, was not to be played by young boys because doing so offended the spirits, and their fingers might in later life become entangled in the harpoon line. Only after the boy had reached maturity could he play the above game (Boas, 1901; 161). Singing or dancing was usually taboo immediately following a death, as it was believed such activity tended to offend the deceased's soul and cause it to become an evil ghost (Boas, 1901; 131). Among certain Inuit it was also taboo to beat the drum out in the open air because of the belief that it offended the spirits (Birket-Smith, 1929; 271). Among the Caribou Inuit it was even taboo for women, other than those specifically singled out by the shaman, to compose and sing songs, because of their spiritual significance (Rasmussen, 1930; 70).

Among these same people, women were forbidden to enter the song house during their menstrual period as their "uncleanliness" was thought to offend the spirits of the qaggi (Rasmussen, 1930; 179). It was a common belief among the Inuit in general, that the spirits of amulets could ensure a person's success in song dueling, give him speed as a runner, and assist him in games involving strength or endurance (Balicki, 1970; 202-3 and 217; Boas, 1901; 151). Among other ceremonial observances related to supernatural belief was the practice of placing a child's play toys along side of the grave so that they might follow the deceased's spirit to the afterworld (Mathaissen,1928; 229). It was also a common practise to sing spirit songs to the newborn child in the hope of ensuring the child's success as a singer in adult life (Rasmussen, 1930; 172).

In addition to Tununirmiut recreation behavior which was more or less directly related to notions of the supernatural, a number of other patterns were indirectly related to these notions. One such pattern was the symbolic interpretation of natural forces and animals in games. Such symbolism was a visible link to the Tununirmiut belief that the supernatural was a personification of natural forces. The symbolic presence of animals, whether in physical image or through abstraction, was characteristic of many Tununirmiut recreation activities. It must be noted that the Tununirmiut considered all animals to have souls, and to be controlled by the sea spirit, Kunna. The symbolic presence of animals in game activity therefore, reflected to some extent these supernatural notions.

The implements of several games symbolically represented animals. For example, polar bear and fox figurines were used as the "cup" in ajagaq, and the bird figures were sometimes associated with a dice-type game called tingmiujang. Abstract symbolism of animals was also a common

feature of many games. Many of the songs associated with the various forms of ball games had as a central theme animal characteristics and behavior, and the ball itself was often a symbolic representation of an animal (Boas, 1901; 344). The animal representations made in the pastime of string figures is another notable example of such animal symbolism.

Birket-Smith has described a more specific example of abstract symbolism of animals in the tag game of amarogiarneq (1921; 291). In this children's game some participants were designated "caribou" and were chased by others, the "wolves." Rasmussen described a similar game which commences with a race to a designated point such as a spear stuck in the snow, or the like (1928; 244-5). The last player to pass this goal was designated "it," and assumed the role of a wolf. The game proceeded much as the ordinary game of tag, the single exception being that the "wolf" had to tag the others on their bare skin. A final example suffices to illustrate the abstract symbolism of animals in many recreation activities:

> A party of children join hands and form up in a circle, ... one of the players attempts to break out of the circle, the rest doing all they can to prevent it. If one succeeds in breaking away, he must run over to two other children, standing same distance from the group, hand in hand, and try to force himself between these two: should he succeed, one of the pair thus divided must strike him,... adding: "may you have the strength of a wolverine!" (Rasmussen, 191; 297

The game is then repeated, but this time the pair must add, "May you have the strength of a wolf." When all have gone around the wolves and wolverines fight until one side wins.

A final category of recreation activity which was indirectly related to religious notions was that of play imitative of social behavior dir-

ected toward the natural environment. Such social behavior was characteristically economic in purpose. Many of the play implements of children, such as toy harpoons, leisters, bows and arrows, and slings, were miniatures of those utilized by adults to hunt game animals. Commonly, play with such implements was a reconstruction of the adult behavior associated with these implements. Children's play also imitated a number of other adult patterns directed toward the environment in general. Implements such as toy kayaks, sleds, and snowknives: and the games commonly associated with such toys, were a direct imitation of adult patterns directed toward general environmental conditions. Imitative play was not restricted, however, to children's play. Adults performed kayak roles, held sled races, and engaged in other play activities imitative of the actual patterns associated with everyday economic activity.

Coupled with a strong reliance on supernatural explanations of natural events was the Tununirmiut belief that such events were to be accepted or endured, often with sublime resignation.[3] Such fatalism was observed as well, in recreation behavior. The outcome of many competitive contests was modestly accepted as that was "given." Although success in games was a source of much individual pride, it was highly conditioned by the dominant normative system which supported the belief that all events, even the outcome of competitive contests, were part of a grander scheme controlled by the spirits and deities. Success was not so much a reflection of an individual's skill, strength or strategy than it was the result of favorable spirits and forces.

Tununirmiut values, for the most part, functioned to reinforce the belief that any one individual could not control the outcome of games or contests. Not suprisingly, games of chance were popular. Such games

eliminated the anxiety commonly felt when competing in games where the outcome was controllable, but not strongly sanctioned. For these reasons, such games as nugluktaq, saqataq, tingmiujang, and children's guessing games, were extremely popular among the Tununirmiut.

The Tununirmiut Leisure Ethos

In the previous chapter it was noted that the traditional Tununirmiut preferred expression of "present" time and "being" activity. These interrelated value preferences combined as an underlying cultural leisure ethic - an ethic which served to integrate and unify most aspects of Tununirmiut life. Unlike Euro-Canadians, the Tununirmiut conceived life as an inextricably interwoven whole, and distinctions between work and leisure, for instance, were lightly made. Tununirmiut behavioral patterns reflected for the most part, this leisure ethic, and were: spontaneous and unplanned; internally motivated and evaluated; non-accumulative or non-goal-oriented; and characteristically, "here and now." Not surprising, these characteristic patterns were to later create a number of intercultural tensions between the Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadians.

The Tununimriut leisure ethic served to bind all behavior, such as recreation and subsistence pursuits, within the single functional unit of life itself. To functionally separate such activity for the purpose of analysis is, in effect, a violation of this underlying ethic. It was demonstrated in the previous section how this distinctive character of traditional Tununirmiut interwove the religious, recreation and economic spheres. Perhaps the most notable example of such an amalgam was the

traditional festivals.

Beyond this characteristic integration of traditional Tununirmiut activity configurations, the leisure ethic served to develop a preference for spontaneity. Spontaneity was characteristic of most recreation activities, and was commonly evident in a lack of rules and preparation. On those few occasions where rules were applied to an activity they were elementary and easy to understand. With few exceptions, planning or preparation was not a feature of Tununirmiut recreation activity. Activities were, characteristically, quickly organized, begun and terminated. Little evidence was found that the Tununirmiut related training, practice or other forms of preparation to the outcome of an activity. Skill development commonly occurred as an incidental of participation. Such skill development was usually tempered by a normative system that encouraged collaterality and discouraged excessive individualism. This tendency for spontaneity surfaced as a preference for low-organized group activities or, more commonly, individual activity.

A notable exception to these characteristically spontaneous activity patterns was the Tununirmiut song duel. Such duels commonly originated as an old grudge or unsettled dispute. Song duels were usually announced, and carefully prepared for by both participants. The prepared character of these contests is illustrated by the fact that the women of the family rehearsed the songs, while kinsfolk usually assisted the composer by telling him all they knew about his opponent. In the duel itself, each singer endeavoured to present his opponent in a ludicrous light and to hold him up to derision. Behind such castigation however, was a touch of humor; for it was the one who could silence his opponent amid the laughter

of the whole assembly who was the victor. As soon as the rivals had given vent to their feelings, it was proper and manly to regard the quarrel as over, and to celebrate the reconciliation.

As described above, song duels were formalized mechanisms for managing tension and reducing social conflict. This added significance tended to contribute to the importance of preparation for such duels. Songs of derision were not always limited, however, to the formalized song duel setting. Occasionally such songs were offered during regular gatherings in the qaggi. While on such occasions the songs might be spontaneous or improvised, it is more likely they represent advanced, sometimes secretive, preparation.

Preparation of songs was not, however, restricted to those songs of derision. Indeed, poetry, as expressed through song, was one of the few activities characterized by any degree of preparation. Commonly, these prepared songs served one of three purposes: (1) to entertain others; (2) to communicate with spirits; and (3) to express oral traditions. Even in this most functional of recreation activities however, spontaneity was still very much a feature. Improvising songs was an almost daily business, and a most popular one at that. The Tununirmiut would break into song at a moments notice without apparent reason. Joy inspired song, as did sorrow. Life itself was expressed in song, and to sing was a part of Tununirmiut life.

A final feature of Tununirmiut recreation patterns that illustrated a leisure ethic was the preference for self-expressive modes. Glassford has described the tendency of the Mackenzie Inuit to function as relatively independent entities even in team games such as akraurak, or football (1970; 196-7). Such self-expression was commonly manifested as a number

of unrelated attempts to drive the ball past the opponents goal line. Division of labor in such games was of the lowest level, and player specialization was unknown. Similar characteristics were noted among the contemporary Tununirmiut in comparable game situations, and it appears this feature was a visible link to traditional modes of self-expression.

In summary, the traditional Tununirmiut leisure ethos served to integrate Tununirmiut life and surfaced as a preference for spontaneous, unplanned, low organized, self-expressive behavior patterns. Recreation patterns largely reflected similar preferences, with the one notable exception of songs which, in situations such as the song duel, served an important channel for variant value preferences.

Recreation and Tununirmiut Social Structure

Tununirmiut society allowed the expression of alternate value preferences in a range of accepted and tolerated behavioral patterns. While a number of social arrangements functioned to reinforce the dominant collateral preference, the Tununirmiut social organization also allowed the expression of alternate positions of this same value orientation. Recreation not only functioned to integrate members of the dominant value, but allowed a major structure for the expression of alternate values.

The Tununirmiut preference for collateral relations gave rise to a number of social arrangements and behavioral patterns, including: the extended family, cooperative hunting, reciprocal exchange, and communal property. Several recreation patterns supported this value preference and contributed to the above social arrangements. Among these patterns

was the arrangement of song partners any one individual Tununirmiut had. Song partners served as a mechanism to extend the family circle and, thereby, to increase personal security.

The formalized ceremonies which often accompanied the arrival of unrelated strangers illustrates a Tununirmiut social arrangement which helped to allay the fear of suspicion commonly accompanying such occasions. A major part of such ceremony was a number of ritualized games of individual self-testing such as boxing, wrestling and knife testing. Boas has described the typical welcoming ceremony of tribes on southeastern Baffin Island as:

> ...the natives arrange themselves in a row, one man standing in front of it. The stranger approaches slowly, his arms folded and his head inclined toward the right side. Then the native strikes him with all his strength on the right cheek and in his turn inclines his head awaiting the stranger's blow (tigluigeljung)...Thus they continue until one of the combatants is vanquished (1888; 609).

The previously mentioned song duel, together with the above boxing duel, and the occasional wrestling or knife-testing matches, were sanctioned means of resolving conflict, on those occasions where it arose. Beyond these settings there were few other formal channels for the expression of aggression. As such, these activities, together with self-testing games, played an extremely important role in Tununirmiut society.

A second recreation activity which served to extend the family sphere and bind people in collateral relations, was the formalized wife-exchange ceremony, detailed previously in this chapter.

Several recreation patterns served to sustain reciprocal exchange - another social arrangement which encouraged collateral relations in Tununir-

miut society. Following a successful hunt, the division of food would ordinarily lead to a round of feasting, visiting, drum dancing and story-telling. Interwoven with this festive mood were the customs and taboos necessary to pay the appropriate respect to the slain animal's soul. The gambling games of nugluktaq and saqataq, with their unique rules of forfeiting something on the occasion of a win, also served to ensure reciprocal exchange. Song contests between partners were as a rule accompanied by similar exchanges of gifts. A final custom supporting reciprocal exchange was the observance or irqatatung, a custom which accompanied the Kunna festival. Boas has offered a description of these observances:

> ...they visit every hut, and the women of the house must always be in waiting for them. When she hears the noise of the band she comes out and throws a dish containing little gifts of meat, ivory trinkets, and articles of sealskin into the yelling crowd, of which each one helps himself to what he can get (1888; 604).

Hall described a similar custom among the Nugumiut, with the idea behind the gifts being that the more liberal a person was the more favorable he would be viwed by the spirit of the sea (1970; 529).

Many of the basic principles of cooperative hunting, still another arrangement encouraging collateral relations, can be found in traditional Tununirmiut recreation activities. Typically, Tununirmiut recreation patterns illustrated preferences for informal or "recognized" leadership, and few roles. Formalized roles were usually lacking, and if leadership was exerted it was strictly controlled by a set of sanctions which discouraged the individual from standing out too much from the group. Tununirmiut group games were typically participated in by all, regardless

of sex or age. It was not uncommon to see the oldest and youngest playing together with equal abandonment and enthusiasm. Simple expressive play was equally delightful to adult and child. Seldom were activities ever considered too child-like for adults, or too "adult" for children.

What few divisions of labor there were within Tununirmiut recreation were based primarily on specific sex roles. Games of individual self-testing were commonly restricted to male participants. Parry has described a number of activities of the Iglulumiut which appear to have been particularly popular with women and young girls (1824; 528-41). Among these was the game ayskkittakpoke, in which the performer distorts most every feature of the face and body as a means of amusing others. Igluligmiut women also appear to have enjoyed throat singing, or pitkoosheraksoke. Other games which Parry noted to have been the property of women and young girls, were: a form of adult blind man's bluff which included sexually explicit and indecent gestures; and a game not unlike "skip-rope." Mathiassen noted "cats-cradle" was a favorite pastime of the Igluligmiut women (1928; 222).

Several examples of communal property can be found among the implements used by the Tununirmiut in games and other recreation activity. A notable example is the Tununirmiut drum, or kilaut, which, although it may have been from the labor of a single individual, was used collectively and considered to be owned collectively. Such other implements as the caribou skin ball, were similarly considered to be communal property.

While cooperative collateral relations were a preferred relational mode in Tununirmiut society, the individual qualities of self-reliance, energy, endurance and fearlessness were valued, as directed toward coping with environmental forces and subsistence activity. A number of social arrange-

ments also allowed for the expression of individualism in other spheres, as well. Perhaps the most significant of these social arrangements was the variety of competitive games common to recreation.

Competitive and individual self-testing activities provided one of the few means for determining dominance among the Tununrimiut. The previously mentioned activities of boxing, wrestling and knife-testing essentially served this purpose. These games were considered a means to measure one's manliness, and considerable prestige and pride accompanied success in such activity. Mathiassen has offered a description of one such game, arsaarartuk, in which two contestants place themselves on the ground with their feet braced against each other and attempt, using a common thong with handles for both, to pull each other forward (1928; 221). By and far the greatest number of Tununirmiut games were of a similar type, and most had in common the testing of an individual's strength, endurance, agility and skill. As many of these games have previously been documented by Glassford (1970), and Zuk (1967), they are not considered in detail in this study. It is sufficient to conclude by stating these games provided one of the few outlets for aggression, and one of the few formally sanctioned means of expressing individualism outside of the economic sphere. Indeed, it appears reasonable to suggest that, without such formalized recreation outlets for aggression, the constant tension that resulted from the juxtaposition of collaterality and individualism would have quickly destroyed any remnants of Tununirmiut social organization.

Summary

The underlying spirit of Tununirmiut culture was a leisure ethos representing an amalgam of preferred and substitute values. This leisure ethos was characterized by integrated configurations of behavioral patterns. Recreation and religion were inextricably interwoven, and no distinction was made between the functions of work and leisure. Recreation patterns functioned not only to support the dominant social relational arrangement, but as an outlet for equally valued qualities of individualism.

This overall configuration of Tununirmiut behavioral patterns was a course for much misunderstanding and confusion among Euro-Canadians. These misunderstanding were more a reflection of widely divergent value profiles, than any sign of weakness in Tununirmiut culture.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER IV

[1]Rasmussen has recounted a myth common among the Iglulingmiut regarding the spirit of the feasting house (1929; 224-5). This myth illustrates the Iglulingmiut belief that the feasting house spirit will appear to those who call it, and can occasionally be malevolent when displeased.

[2]The wife-exchange custom has been variously described in a number of sources and appears to have been a common practice among a number of groups. Boas has described a similar wife-swapping ceremony popular with the tribes of southern Baffin Island, and it appears this activity was usually associated with the fall feast in honor of the sea deity (1888; 605-9).

[3]Fatalism, as a Tununirmiut value preference, is discussed on page 53.

Chapter V

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

As with any cultural group which persists over time, the Tununirmiut have for centuries adapted to their changing world. By the end of the nineteenth century however, these evolutionary forms of change had been largely overshadowed by changes which resulted from intercultural contacts with Euro-Canadians.[1]

Significantly, this latter form of cultural change was precipitated by a rather restricted number of "cultural agents" representing Euro-Canadian culture, including the early whalers and traders, the R.C.M.P., the government administrators, and the missionaries. This network of intercultural contacts was later expanded to include a number of other Euro-Canadian "cultural representatives," but it was not until the early 1960's that the first Euro-Canadian agents formally represented that culture's recreation sphere. Until this time the cultural transmission of recreation properties was largely subordinate or incidental to the network of roles established around other interest areas. As this transmission of recreation was incidental to other conjunctive relations, it is necessary to consider the nature and history of contact in these other spheres in order to appreciate the processes which have resulted in contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns.

The purpose of this chapter was to document the history of intercultural contacts between Euro-Canadians and the Tununirmiut, and to investigate the nature of these contacts. As a brief introduction, the first section describes the Euro-Canadian culture which their "change agents" represented. This description is structured by the value variation theory applied in previous chapters. The second, third and fourth sections provide a brief historical account of intercultural contact between the cultures in question. The final section considers the nature and implications of these contacts.

Euro-Canadian Culture: A Perspective

The dominant and substitute value orientations of Euro-Canadian culture are depicted as Figure 7. The dominant values of this profile were briefly discussed as illustrations of the theory of value orientations developed in Chapter 2. This section elaborates on this earlier discussion.

Euro-Canadians dominantly believe natural forces can be controlled or mastered to the benefit of people. Scientific solutions are applied to environmental problems and, unlike the traditional Tununirmiut, the world of nature is considered, for the most part, to be "secular." Fatalism is reserved for those occasions where catastrophic events are beyond scientific explanation. Perceptions of an integrated lifestyle and harmony with nature, while notable on the rise among sub-groups, remain a least understood alternative which conflicts with the basic cultural spirit. These dominantly held values of mastering nature strongly predisposes Euro-Canadians to centre attention on activities of

VALUE ORIENTATION	PREFERENCE RANK ORDER
MAN-NATURE	MASTERY OVER > SUBJUGATION TO > IN HARMONY (Strong preference for first order Mastery)
TIME	FUTURE > PRESENT > PAST (Strong preference for first order Future, but emerging expression of present time)
ACTIVITY	DOING > BEING-IN-BECOMING = BEING (Strong preference for first order Doing, but emerging expression of the being modality)
MAN-MAN	INDIVIDUAL > COLLATERAL > LINEAL (Strong preference for first order Individualism, but expression of collaterality in times of crisis)

FIGURE 7. Euro-Canadian Value Profile

the technological sphere, perhaps the most characteristic trait of industrial nations such as Canada.

In contrast to traditional Tununirmiut culture, Euro-Canadian culture is characterized by an underlying work ethic which emerges as preference for "future" time and "doing" activity. Central to this ethic is a mechanical, or linear concept of time. Mechanical time arose as a direct result of the distinction of labor, and the need to regulate trade and barter activity. The Protestant Ethic and the industrial revolution further propagated this concept of mechanical time. Closely bound to the mechanical concept of time is an emphasis on goal-orientated activity. The conjunction of these value preferences strongly induces Euro-Canadians to economic activity.

Functionally specific roles and a proliferation of institutional modes of relating support the expression of the above work ethic. Euro-Canadians live, for the most part, in a highly individualistic society characterized by these specific roles and institutions. Self-reliance and self-expression are highly valued, and each individual is expected to apply these skills to achievement of goals and accumulation of possessions. Non-utilitarian habits, such as improvidence, are condemned. The underlying force behind most social behavior is the acquisition of personal possessions, and a strong set of norms sanctify behavior directed toward this objective and protect the property rights of individuals. Naturally, this drive to achieve creates a society marked by a pervasive competitive spirit which permeates not only economic behavior, but most spheres of life.

It is the elaborate structure of institutionalized behavioral

patterns however, which most characterizes the Euro-Canadian preference for individualism as a relational mode. Euro-Canadians are students of organization, having created social structures and ordained them with specific functions as a means of assuring efficient goal-directed activity.

Expressions of the substitute relational mode of collaterality is reserved in most cases, for times of catastrophic disaster or extreme external threat. Typically, Euro-Canadians shift to this relational mode, and the subordiante preference for "present" time, as a means of responding to immediate threat, but this shift would appear to be an inadequate mechanism against prolonged crises. This aversion to prolonged threat is noted as a predominant Euro-Canadian desire to deal with the problem immediately and expediantly, and to get on with the business of life.

From this background of cultural values and behavioral preferences, Euro-Canadians first encountered and established relations with the traditional Tununirmiut. It would prove to be the fascination of these early Euro-Canadians with technology and economic activity, which largely dictated the nature of early intercultural relations.

Earliest Contacts

Ancient Norse sagas, and more recent archeological discoveries, indicate that the Norse probably first landed on the east coast of Baffin Island somehwere in the years A.D. 981-983, nearly 500 years before the more official "discovery" of the new world.[2] Unfortunately, one is left

with little record of the Skraelings (Thule Inuit) which the Norse have mentioned to have inhabited this region. If little insight is provided into these early contacts, such is not the case of Martin Frobisher's inauspicious encounters with the natives of southern Baffin Island between the years 1576-1578. Frobisher's accounts of these early contacts may be forgiven in part if they appear somewhat derogatory about the locals, as it was his experience to lose several men who he suspected were the victims of native treachery.[3] Frobisher, however, provided one of the few glimpses into the life style of the ancestors of the modern Inuit, the Thule.[4]

While subsequent voyages by Davis (in the years 1585, 1586 and 1587) and Baffin (in 1616) are notable for the exploration and mapping of the eastern coast of Baffin Island, no mention is made of the Inuit inhabiting the area, and it is presumed no contacts were made. With the confirmation provided by these voyages that no route to the orient existed via the ice choked waters of Baffin Bay, the curtain was drawn on exploration in this region. It was to be over two hundred years before the next Euro-Canadian would visit the region. It was an era which, if remembered at all, was marked by Frobisher's inauspicious contact with the natives of southern Baffin; contacts primarily motivated by a greed for gold and characterized by the first demonstration of the superiority of Euro-Canadian technology. While the Tununirmiut would continue virtually untouched by contact with the Euro-Canadians, the eye of exploration would turn to the northern mainland.

The nineteenth century is best known as the era of British exploration - an era spurred by the quest for the northwest passage and later,

given unity by the search for Franklin's fate. It is also an era noted for the first sustained Euro-Canadian contacts with the Tununirmiut - contact which profoundly modified Tununirmiut culture, but for which few records remain.

The first white man to officially "discover" Pond Inlet was Ross (1819) who, on the return portion of his 1818 voyage to seek a northern passage to China, mistakenly named the inlet "Ponds Bay," thinking it to be closed by a large glacier. For the first time "Ponds Bay" appeared on European maps as part of the known world. It was not until Parry (1824) documented the lifestyle of the Iglulingmiut on Melville Peninsula during the years 1821-3, however, that the first detailed description of the Inuit of the region was provided.[5] Ironically, even this earliest recorded contact notes the presence among the natives of the region of elements of the Euro-Canadian material culure, such as iron implements. The presence of these goods can probably be traced to the whalers who had frequented the coasts of southern Baffin Island for some years. Lyon (1825) noted the pervasive effect these early whalers had had on the southern Baffinlanders as early as 1824. In this region the whalers often wintered over in the Cumberland Sound and appear to have even employed the occasional Inuit. A development of this contact was a rather active trading arrangement. No doubt the Euro-Canadian goods which had found their way among the Iglulingmiut as early as 1821 were projected from this region of southern Baffin Island. Ross (1835) was to note the spread of European technology as far north as the Netsilik of Boothia Peninsula in 1829.

The spread of European technology and goods took on an added significance for the Tununirmiut in the mid-1820's, when the first Scottish

and English whalers began to frequent the waters of Pond Inlet and Lancaster Sound. These whalers had been quick to follow the earlier explorations of Ross and Parry, and were firmly established in Pond Inlet by the late 1820's. Unfortunately, the contacts these early whalers had with the local Tununirmiut remain, for the most part, unrecorded. It appears to have been a part of the whaling game for skippers to jealously guard information on new fishing grounds. Although the early whalers would therefore, gain no fame or find a significant place in history, they would remain in more or less regular contact with the Tununirmiut for the next one hundred years. This contact would have a profound impact on the Tununirmiut culture, an impact discussed in some detail in the final section of this chapter.

While the whalers were thus occupied in regular intercourse with the Tununirmiut, the recorded history of the latter half of the nineteenth century was underscored by the name of Franklin. When the 1848 sailing season still had produced no sign of Franklin's expedition, which had by then been missing since he sailed in 1845, a seaborne assault was launched in an effort to learn his fate. It was a search which lasted until 1859, when McClintock would uncover the tragic truths of the Franklin expedition. While this assult would map and chart most of the North, it would add few insights into the inhabitants of the region. McClintock (1860) provides one of the few glimpses of the early Tununirmiut which he encountered in 1858. Outside of his brief account of a group of Tununirmiut camped on the south shore of Bylot Island (1860; 156-65), no direct references to the Tununirmiut are made by the several explorers who searched for the Franklin fate.

With the discovery of Franklin's fate, the era of British exploration drew to a close, only to be replaced by a new breed of northern adventurer interested in the land and its people. It is to the likes of Hall (1864; 1879) and Boas (1888; 1901; 1907) that history owes its earliest complete portrayal of Inuit character, custom, and lifestyle.

By the close of the nineteenth century, however, the single representative of Euro-Canadian culture who had had any significant bearing on the traditional Tununirmiut was the whalers. It would be another twenty years before political, economic and social developments of the Canadian society-at-large would have an appreciable impact on the Tununirmiut.

The Transition Era

As the whale catches began to dwindle in the last years of the nineteenth century many whalers began to abandon this always dangerous and increasingly unprofitable venture. Those few that continued to hunt the whale began to look more and more to a lively trade with the Tununirmiut as a means of supplementing shrinking returns. During the period from 1903 to 1920 (when the Hudson's Bay established a post), a number of independent trading posts flourished around Pond Inlet. It would prove to be the establishment of these early trading posts, and later the Hudson Bay, that sealed the changing fate of the Tununirmiut.

It would be one of these early traders who would provide cause for the arrival of the first permanent representative of the Canadian Government, the R.C.M.P.. While the Canadian Government had earlier initiated an annual eastern arctic cruise expedition (in 1908), these

initial voyages had been little more than a demonstration of Canadian sovereignty rights. The arrival of the R.C.M.P. in Pond Inlet was precipitated by the mysterious disappearance (in 1920) of an independent fur trader named Janes. Rumors reached the south that Janes had been killed by local Tununirmiut, and the R.C.M.P. sent Sargent Joy to investigate the circumstances of the disappearance of Janes. During the winter of 1922 Joy was able to discover the location of Janes' body and arrest three Tununirmiut suspects. That following summer the Hudson's Bay supply ship carried a stipendiary magistrate and complete court. As Captain Craig noted, so commenced the first court case in Canada's High Arctic designed to:

> adjudicate on the case, so that the Eskimos may see that Canadian laws must be respected and may learn to expect justice in all their dealings with the white man, and to appreciate the fact that white men will be punished just as Eskimos will be for any wrong doing (1927; 11).

Craig provides a fleeting glimpse of how the Tununirmiut may have viewed this episode:

> The natives plainly exhibited curiosity and appeared much interested in the proceedings. The prisoners however, did not seem to realize the gravity of the situation. The examination of the witnesses proceeded rather slowly partly on account of the fact that everything had to be done through the interpreter, and partly because an Eskimo when questioned is more likely to give the kind of answer that he thinks is expected than to analyze his own thoughts on the subject and express what he really thinks. (1927; 24).

Whatever the Tununirmiut may have thought of these proceedings, the outcome was painfully clear. Two defendants were found guilty - one being

sentenced to spend ten years imprisonment in the Stony Mountain penitentiary.[6]

Among the visitors to the above trial was Therkel Mathiassen of the Danish Fifth Thule Expedition. It is Mathiassen's account of the Tununirmiut he studied at this period of time, which provides the most comprehensive and fundamental view of traditional Tununirmiut life (1927; 1928). Ironically, his field work was conducted at the very time characterized by most profound intercultural contact. Fortunately, Mathiassen was able, despite these events and the previous years of contact with whalers, to reconstruct the subsistence cyle and many of the customs and habits of the traditional Tununirmiut.

A third major representative of Euro-Canadian culture, the missionaries, arrived to take up residence in Pond Inlet in 1929. Owing to any number of reasons the early Anglican missionaries were much more successful in securing converts than the Roman Catholic. By 1972, for instance, the Roman Catholic parish consisted of only two families, while the remaining Tununirmiut were Anglican parishoners. It would prove to be the Churches which, in the intervening years, drove the final wedge between the Tununirmiut and their traditional beliefs.

It remained for the Canadian Government to establish the social structures which would firmly and irrevocably bind the Tununirmiut to Euro-Canadian culture. It would take several years however, for these social structures to materialize as the contemporary settlement of Pond Inlet. During these years the Tununirmiut would remain scattered along the shores of Eclipse Sound in a number of semi-permanent "camps," where marked changes in their culture were primarily restricted to the tech-

nological, economic and religious spheres.

Jenness has succinctly paraphrased the government policy toward Canada's North during these early years of the twentieth century:

> The times, in its judgement, called for a rigid hold-the-line policy devoid of any new experiments or adventures that might involve the government in extra expenditures. The police could continue as before to uphold Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic and maintain peace, enforce the game regulations, collect the taxes on exported furs, distribute relief, and act in general as the Council's field administrators; the missions, supported by small subsidies, could provide all the hospitalization and rudimentary education that the Eskimos required; while the traders, gently regulated, could take care of their economic welfare (1964; 50).

Reluctant as the government appears to have been to assume major responsibility in the North, a number of notable developments would culminate in the relocation of the Tununirmiut to settlement life by the 1960's. Significantly, the majority of these developments resulted less from a unified development approach, as they did in reaction to events and developments which occurred either in the North itself, or the world-at-large. Indeed, the first interest in the North was spurred by foreign claims to portions of the Arctic archipelago. In response to these claims the Canadian government initiated an annual expedition to the high arctic, ostensibly as a symbolic demonstration of Canadian sovereignty. As the issue of sovereignty faded, the annual excursions shifted more to the purpose of supplying and relieving the R.C.M.P. posts and carrying-on whatever other government business was necessary.

Largely as a result of the dismal picture of Inuit health standards the government was forced into a more direct involvement, establishing

a small medical post in Pangnirtung (1924) and later subsidizing an Anglican hospital in the same community (1928).

While the government was content to rely on the R.C.M.P. for what local administration was necessary, and to shift the welfare responsibilities of the Inuit to the Hudson's Bay Company, it was a slump in fur prices during the 1930's which finally precipitated an active government interest in the North. While this downward spiral of fur prices gravely affected the Tununirmiut, it spelled disaster for the Tununirusirmiut immediately to the west. Unable to secure sufficient food during the severe winter of 1934-5, a number of Tununirusirmiut families perished from starvation. It was not just the Tununirusirmiut, but many of Canada's Inuit groups that experienced the suffering caused by a reliance on the frail economic system introduced by Euro-Canadians. Pressured to respond to these steadily deteriorating economic conditions, the Northwest Territories Council authorized the transfer of surplus caribou to destitute Inuit groups, and further made it the responsibility of the trading companies to look after the relief of those Inuit they had commerce with.

No less shortsighted was the government experiment to relocate the Inuit of these depressed areas to regions where country food sources were more abundant. Unfortunately, the critical factor for selecting these relocation sites was their accessibility to sea transport, upon which the trading post relied. One such abortive relocation experiment involved a number of Tununirmiut who were moved to Dundas Harbour on southern Devon Island. Only two years later (1936) it had become pointedly clear the location was a poor choice; the ice choked waters of Dundas Harbour

making it difficult for the Tununirmiut to utilize normal hunting techniques. After a rather circuitous route which included stops at Arctic Bay (1936) and Fort Ross on Somerset Island (1937), the Tununirmiut were finally located at Spence Bay (1947). The government tacitly conceded the failure of its colonization scheme.

While the Northwest Territories was marked during the years 1940 to 1960 with a number of significant political, social and economic developments, these events largely by-passed the Tununirmiut. As it proved to be these developments which ushered in the era of relocation of the Tununirmiut to the settlement of Pond Inlet, they are briefly discussed below.

The immediate effects of World War II largely passed without notice among the Inuit, with the exception of those affected by the establishment of air bases and weather stations at Frobisher Bay and Resolute Bay. Indirectly, the establishment of the Resolute weather and air base precipitated the relocation of several Tununirmiut families (in 1953). It was the added public attention that World War II brought to the North and its inhabitants, however, that forced a previously unconcerned government to establish new policies and develop new programs.

Perhaps the most notable development of this increasing Northern consciousness was the (then) Department of Mines and Resources program to establish schools in each arctic settlement. Prior to the establishment of this program the government had restricted its involvement in education to subsidizing missionary schools. Located as these schools were, in such far off places as Eskimo Point and Frobisher Bay, they had had no appreciable impact on the Tununirmiut. While the local missionary

offered day classes after 1949, it would be thirteen years later that the first government school would be established in Pond Inlet. This event would, as much as any other single development, hasten the Tununirmiut move to settlement life.

A second significant development of post war years was the transfer (in 1945) of the responsibility for Inuit health to the Department of National Health and Welfare. Over the course of the next few years such programs as family allowance, old age assistance, and social welfare would be introduced to the Tununirmiut, and add one of the few stabilizing features in an otherwise fragile economy. It was the department's vigorous campaign to attack tuberculosis, however, which had a profound immediate impact on Tununirmiut life. The often criticized policy of the department was to evacuate tubercular patients to southern hospitals, and it became a common occurrence for one or more family members to be hospitalized in southern institutions. Although this forced movement proved to have a dramatic effect on individuals and their families, it successfully served to reduce the disease which had reached epidemic proportions among the Inuit. The impact of a second department program, that of the establishment of nursing stations in each northern settlement, was somewhat delayed reaching Pond Inlet. However, the eventual establishment, in 1966, of such a nursing facility proved one more incentive for the Tununirmiut to move to the settlement.

As the era of transition moved toward the end of the 1950's, the Tununirmiut still led virtually the same camp life characteristic of some thirty years previous. Of the population in 1958: two were attending school at Chesterfield Inlet; seventeen were hospitalized in southern

hospitals; and eleven families (19 per cent of the total population) lived in Pond Inlet. The remaining population was scattered among eight separate camps stretching along the shores of Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet. Most settlement families were either welfare cases or had family heads employed with the R.C.M.P. or Hudson's Bay Company (Bissett, 1970, vol. 1; 63-5). Within the next ten years however, the situation would be dramatically reversed as the programs and services of the Canadian government exerted the final incentive for the Tununirmiut to relocate to the settlement.

Settlement Relocation

By 1960 the majority of Tununirmiut still lived in one or another of the semi-permanent camps, visiting the settlement of Pond Inlet only to trade at the Hudson Bay post, or at Christmas, Easter and on the arrival of the supply ship. These visits would commonly last only a few weeks and the Tununirmiut would return to their camps loaded with sufficient provisions for four to five months. By 1970 however, home for all the Tununirmiut was the settlement of Pond Inlet. The reasons for this dramatic decline and eventual abandoment of camp life have been alluded to in the previous section, but are considered here in some depth.

Perhaps the single strongest incentive to move to the settlement was the attraction of seasonal wage employment. Fox trapping had always been an unpredictable source of income for the Tununirmiut because of the erratic cycle of the fox and the uncertain price of its fur from any one year to the next. For years the Tununirmiut had supplemented

the income from fox fur and seal skins by working the month of April mining coal for the R.C.M.P. and Hudson's Bay, or assisting with the annual sea lift. It was the rapid expansion of government facilities in the early 1960's, however, that significantly increased seasonal employment opportunities and further attracted the Tununirmiut to the settlement. Attracted by these employment opportunites the camp people remained for longer periods at Pond, with many eventually moving to locations near the settlement. It soon became the rule to return to the land camps only on a seasonal basis, when employment with the Euro-Canadians could not be found.

The major seasonal employer during the sixties was the (then) Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (later, Indian Affairs and Northern Development), who embarked on an ambitious construction program, including the following facilities: a school (1963), which was later expanded (1966); a power plant (1962), later expanded (1967); several bulk oil storage tanks (1963 and 1966); and several hostels and a transient quarters (1966). It was such construction projects which employed Tununirmiut men from August to December, and provided a semblance of stability to the Tununirmiut economy.

The rapid expansion of administrative services also produced a number of new permanent employment positions, including: an assistant to the Area Administrator, hostel parents, school janitor, drivers for the hauling of ice and water; teacher assistances, and housekeepers. Despite this apparently thriving economy, it is appropriate to note that in 1967 only 14 per cent of the total labor force was permanently employed (Bissett, 1970, vol. 1; 136).

At the same time that Pond Inlet was undergoing this rapid expansion of administrative services and creating a magnet of seasonal employment, a second employer emerged, Baffinland Iron Mines Limited. Early in the sixties the company had reported a discovery of high grade iron ore near Mary River on the southwest shore of Eclipse Sound. Over the next few years Baffinland Iron Mines conducted a feasibility and assessment study of these deposits. A number of Pond Inlet men were seasonally employed as laborers on the site. This feasibility study was completed, however, in 1966, and further work was no longer available. During its short life Baffinland Mines proved to be one more magnet to the settlement, where the families of those employed usually remained during the May to October period.

A second major factor in the migration of the Tununirmiut to Pond Inlet was the establishment (in 1962) of a territorial school. Although hostels were built so that parents could remain on the land, many found it too painful to be separated from their children, and moved to the settlement to be near them. While a number of camp schools were tried they proved to have limited success, and the common rule became that parents moved into the settlement if they felt their children should attend school.

A third government service, the nursing station, was established in 1966. With tuberculosis still taking a major toll (thirteen people were evacuated between August 1966 and April 1967) and a number of other epidemics sweeping through the people, the health services provided through the nursing station proved yet one more attraction to the community.

It was the Department of Northern Affairs low rental housing program however, which sealed the fate of the Tununirmiut as settlement dwellers. The purpose of this program was to provide the Inuit with prefabricated housing at a cost in line with income. Prior to the introduction of the program, the only government housing program available to the Inuit had been a low cost purchase scheme which few, except those permanently employed, were able to afford. The introduction of this new program, which required the Inuit only to pay rent in line with their income, made housing available to all. With the arrival of the first twenty-five low rental units in 1966, the trend to settlement life accelerated at an unprecedented rate.

By 1970, without exception, the Tununirmiut were settlement dwellers. This new home would prove to have a dramatic impact on traditional Tununirmiut values and behavioral patterns. In essence, it would remove the last vestiges of Tununirmiut cultural autonomy.

The Nature of Conjunctive Relations

For the purpose of this study two significant aspects of the previously discussed intercultural contacts must be considered: (1) for the most part contacts were characterized by a superior Euro-Canadian power position; and (2) intercultural transmission of recreation properties occurred as incidental projections of other conjunctive networks. These traits are considered below.

Most major intercultural relations, until very recently, were established around the whalers and traders, the R.C.M.P., and the

missionaries. It was the earliest traders who first established technological superiority over the Tununirmiut, and initiated the first Tununirmiut dependency on Euro-Canadian material culture. Attracted by the wider range of resources offered by these early whalers, the Tununirmiut became quickly dependent on this new technology, and found themselves bound to an economic relationship largely dictated by the tastes of this former group. Button Point, Albert Harbour, and Mittimatalik appear to have been major points for intercultrual contact, which featured regular barter for Euro-Canadian wood and metal implements in exchange for Tununirmiut skins and furs.

Early traders, and later the Hudson's Bay Company, further established a superior position and bound the Tununirmiut to Euro-Canadian goods. While the Euro-Canadian traders had much the Tununirmiut desired, the Tununirmiut had little of value to offer in return for these items, except for fox furs and seal skins. The traders demand for these specific goods profoundly changed the Tununirmiut subsistence cycle from one characterized by cooperative winter hunting, to one which saw the Tununirmiut functioning as independent family units to trap the fox. This increasing dependence on Euro-Canadian commodities and the rising importance of fox trapping, had other far reaching impacts. Not only was the winter seal hunt devalued in favor of fox trapping, but the regular trip to the trading post regulated the characteristic nomadic wanderings of the people.

While the early traders and whalers established an irreversible economic dependence, the missionaries were quick to follow with a new set of beliefs respecting the supernatural. These beliefs were largely

implanted from the superior position previously established by the whalers and traders.

Unknown to the Tununirmiut, they had officially become Canadians as a result of the 1869 "Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Terriroty when united with Canada." Although this act, and the succession of acts and statutes which followed over the next 100 years, had little direct impact on the Tununirmiut, it established the Northwest Territories as a political unit within the Canadian nation-state and bound its residents to the constitution of that nation. The first official representative of this nation-state with whom the Tununirmiut had regular contact was the R.C.M.P. Significantly, the R.C.M.P. would establish the laws and constitutional rights of the nation-state, and see to their enforcement. It was previously described how dramatic this first major encounter with the Canadian government was.[7]

It was from this politically attached base that the succession of government policies and programs would eventually bind the Tununirmiut to settlement life, and the social, economic and political systems of the Canadian society-at-large. Within this framework of conjunctive relations it would be erroneous to assume the Tununirmiut had maintained cultural autonomy. At best, the contemporary Tununirmiut could be considered an ethnic enclave within the dominant Canadian society.

Until recently, recreation properties had been transferred casually within conjunctive networks primarily established for other purposes. Most projections of such properties were not accompanied by the unilateral relations characteristic of the transfer of most other Euro-Canadian properties. The secondary nature of recreation within most early con-

junctive relations allowed the Tununirmiut to adapt to the transfer of recreation properties on their own terms, for the most part. The maintenance of an ability to selectively screen Euro-Canadian recreation properties allowed the Tununirmiut to develop a significant continuity with traditional recreation patterns. This link with tradition is discussed generally in Chapter 6, and in Chapter 7 with respect to specific recreation patterns.

If the Euro-Canadian recreation system, with its distinctive institutionalization and value on planning, preparation and competition, becomes a prominant component of local recreation patterns, changes can be expected to occur in the nature of conjunctive relations. The implications of such changes are considered as the basis for the approach to northern recreation suggested in Chapter 8.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER V

[1]See Chapter 2, pages 18-22 for a discussion of these acculturative forces and processes.

[2]The first Norsemen to arrive along the east coast of Baffin Island were probably led by Erik the Red. Over the next two to three hundred years the Norse not only explored most of the east coast of Baffin Island, and the coasts of Labrador, Newfoundland, Ungava Bay and Hudson Strait, but established settlements, if only temporarily, along the shores of Ungava Bay and Hudson Strait. One of the few surviving records of Norse exploration clearly indicates a voyage in 1266 A.D. was for the purpose of discovering the "homeland" of the Skraelings (Thule Inuit). This exploration followed a route as far north as Bylot Island (Mowat, 1973; vol. 2; 35).

[3]Suspecting such treachery, Frobisher resolved:

> not to make peace again with them, but rather to depart from thence to other places, there to try and find some other people of that land to whom these late doings were unknown, and of them take some prisoners in reprisal for his own men (Mowat, 1973; vol. 1; 43).

Indeed, over the course of his next three voyages Frobisher made good this pledge, capturing three natives and killing at least a half dozen others. It is interesting to note that Hall (1986) was later able to confirm the Inuit side of this incident. Apparently, the five men supposedly killed had, in fact, deserted and were sheltered for some time by the Inuit. According to the Inuit account of the incident, the men finally grew homesick and set off to sail home, despite warnings from the Inuit that ice conditions were unfavorable. Their fate after this is unclear, but it is obvious they never reached their British homeland.

[4]The Inuit encountered by Frobisher in the sixteenth century were likely of the Thule culture. From the sixteenth century through to the nineteenth century, this Inuit cultural phase was replaced, through an evolutionary process, by the modern Inuit culture.

For a brief description of the Thule culture, and those other prehistorical cultural phases of the Inuit, the reader is referred to Glassford (1970; 156-64) or Taylor (1971; 35).

[5]Mathiassen (1927; 1928) later demonstrated the Iglilingmiut were culturally linked to the Tununirmiut as an identifiable Inuit sub-group he called the Iglulik.

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

[6]While in Pond Inlet, several locals once told the author how Janes was believed to have been a ruthless and very unfair individual. In accordance with traditional Tununirmiut justice, it was decided that Janes would be murdered as he was believed to have posed a threat to the people. The three men tried in the court case were apparently selected for the deed. Burnford (1973; 120-4) has provided further details on the circumstances surrounding this incident.

[7]See pages 101-3 of this chapter, and footnote number 6 above for a description of this first contact with the R.C.M.P.

Chapter VI

CONTEMPORARY TUNUNIRMIUT CULTURE: SETTLEMENT LIFE IN THE EARLY 1970'S

Introduction

A central feature of Pond Inlet settlement life in the early 1970's was a loosely held cultural pluralism - a network of formalized inter-cultural relations between the Tununirmiut and local Euro-Canadians. Despite the characteristic aspect of the superior Euro-Canadian economic, political and social power position outlined in the previous chapter, the Tununirmiut continued to maintain a number of traditional cultural traits, after over one hundred and fifty years of contact with Euro-Canadians. While the most visible continuity with tradition was the maintenance of Tununirmiut language, a number of contemporary Tununirmiut values and behavioral patterns could also be traced to a continuity with traditional culture.

Lest the above give the impression the contemporary Tununirmiut still maintained cultural autonomy from Canadian society-at-large, it must be noted the contemporary Tununirmiut were largely dependant on, and bound to Canadian economic, political and social systems. At best, the contemporary Tununirmiut remained a cultural enclave within a dominant Canadian society. That complete cultural replacement had not occurred, can be traced to two features of the conjunctive relations established

between the cultures in question: (1) in the face of contact, the traditional Tununirmiut culture had developed boundary maintenance mechanisms which served to slacken total assimilation into the dominant Euro-Canadian culture; and (2) Euro-Canadian culture had been sufficiently flexible to intergroup variations that a consistent approach to "socializing" the Tununirmiut had not occurred.[1]

The central purpose of this chapter was to identify the major properties of Tununirmiut settlement life as processes resulting from intercultural contact. To facilitate this analysis, the theory of variations in value orientations was applied to settlement life in Pond Inlet. Following the format established in Chapter 3, the chapter provides by way of introduction, a brief description of the settlement setting. The following three sections are devoted to describing the contemporary Tununirmiut value orientations of: relating to nature and the supernatural, relating to time and activity, and relating to man. The characteristic feature of the latter value orientation (relating to man), was the presence of a local Euro-Canadian element which largely controlled and directed social relations. Because of the central role of this element of contemporary Tununirmiut life, it is considered in some detail, and the section forms a focal part of the chapter. A short summary concludes the chapter.

The Settlement Setting

From the time of the earliest local fur traders until the early 1960's, Pond Inlet was little more than a few scattered shacks and, later,

the facilities of the R.C.M.P., Hudson's Bay, and churches. By 1973 however, the community had been transformed into the planned settlement depicted in Figure 8.

From the southwest end of the community, where the original "community" of facilities was located, the settlement stretched one-half mile northeast along the shoreline. Centrally located straddling a small stream was the government administrative zone, and most Euro-Canadian housing units. To the northeast was the school and nursing station, and beyond these facilities the major Inuit dwelling zone. Somewhat isolated inland, a second zone of Inuit housing was recently developed.

The settlement's layout provided a clear indication of its growth. Limited by topographical barriers, the settlement originally expanded in an elongated pattern along the shoreline. As the preferred areas were developed, growth was forced inland in the early 1970's.

The southwest corner of the settlement, being well drained, relatively level and fronting a gentle sloping beach, was a popular area for the earliest facilities of the R.C.M.P., Hudson's Bay, and missionaries. The first Tununirmiut settlement dwellers, many of whom worked for one of the Euro-Canadian agencies, settled in this same general area, where they had easy access to the sea.

The expansion of government services and facilities in the early sixties occurred directly to the northeast of the "original" community. As the lowland areas became developed, the settlement's expansion was forced further to the northeast where the coast line rises abruptly in a series of rock outcroppings.

At the northeast corner of the settlement a zone of Inuit low-rental dwellings was constructed in the years 1966-1968. Despite being

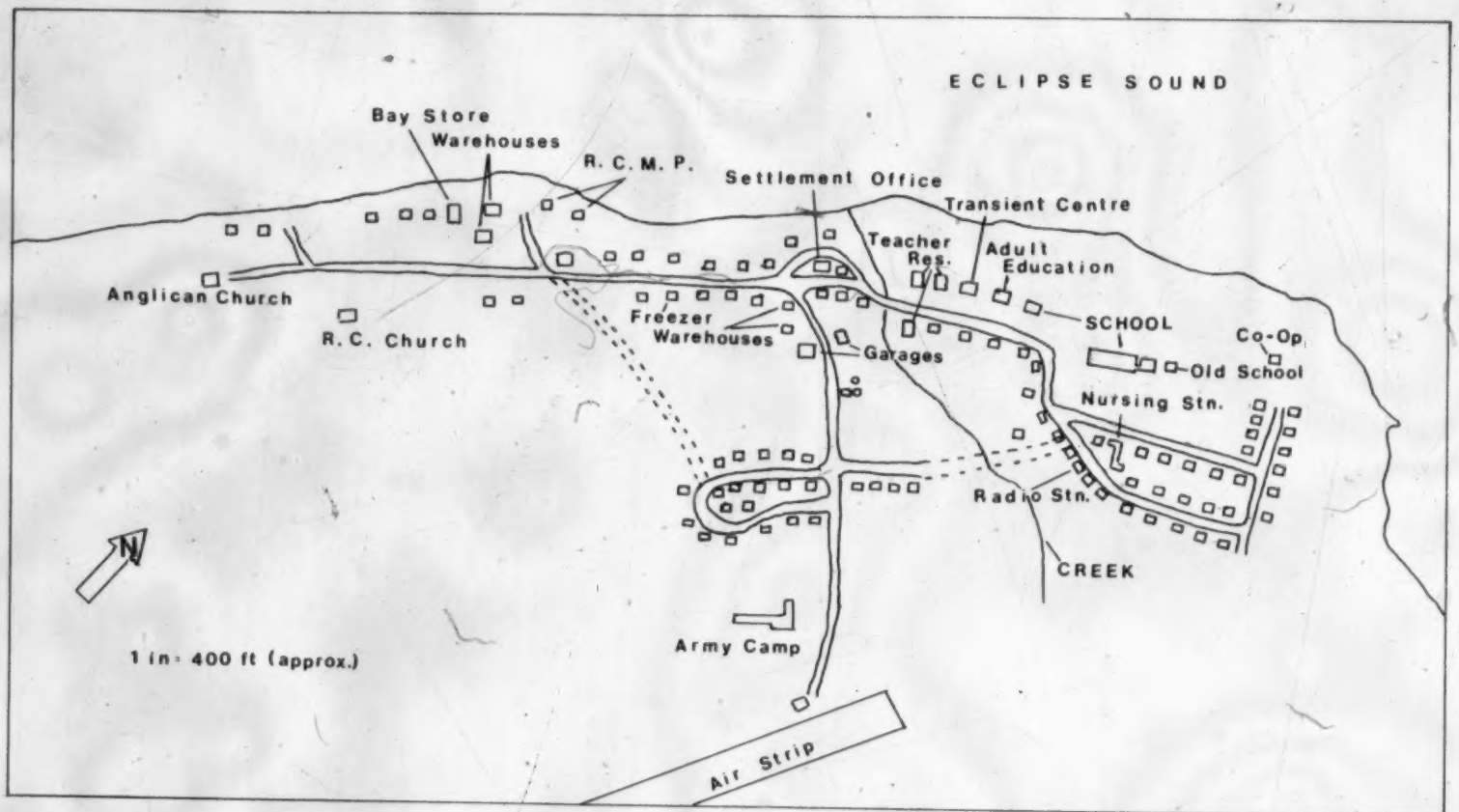

FIGURE 8. Pond Inlet Site Plan - 1973
After Bissett, Northern Baffin Island: An Area Econoic Survey

elevated from the sea along a rocky shoreline the Tununirmiut preferred this area to being located inland where access to the sea was even more difficult. By the late sixties this area was fully developed, and further expansion along the coast was restricted by severe topographic features. Subsequent Inuit housing was located inland southeast of the original Inuit housing zone. Although this area was the least preferred in terms of access to the sea, this disadvantage was compensated for by the larger more modern housing units. By 1973 the original inland development area was completed and a second area, directly to the north, was under construction.

During 1972 and 1973 few major facilities were constructed. In addition to a number of new low rental housing units, the only development of significance was a temporary trailer camp constructed by the Department of National Defense near the settlement air strip. This camp served as the summer residence for Army personnel working on extending the air strip, and was not considered by the locals as truly a part of the settlement. Subsequent to the period the author spent in the settlement, several major new facilities were constructed. These new facilities however, or the impact they may have had on settlement life, were not considered in this study.[2]

With the exception of those facilities owned by the Hudson's Bay and the two churches, all other facilities (houses, buildings, ancillary facilities) and land were owned by either the federal or territorial governments. Even those few community operated facilities, such as the Co-op, radio station, community hall, and ski-doo repair shack, were government donated buildings. All settlement housing, whether Inuit or

Euro-Canadian, was owned by the government and rented to occupants at nominal rates.

The peculiarities of a segregated Euro-Canadian housing zone, so characteristic of many Arctic communities, was not a marked feature of Pond Inlet. Although most Euro-Canadian houses were clustered near the administration and educational facilities, many Inuit homes were located in this same general area. Most Euro-Canadian homes, however, had hot and cold running water, and were fully appointed with government issue furniture - two features which distinguished them from Inuit housing. Euro-Canadian housing ranged from the two-storey, three-bedroom settlement managers residence, to a singles duplex and a trailer unit for nurses. For the most part, Euro-Canadian homes were three bedroom family units, and varied only to the extent they were constructed in different years with slight modifications.

Tununirmiut housing was considerably more varied, ranging from one room "matchboxes," to the newest three bedroom units complete with hot and cold running water except for the toilets. This range in housing was more a reflection of the improvements being made to the low-rental issues from year to year, than to any housing class system. Generally, the older and smaller units were favorably located in the southwest end of the settlement, while the newer, larger units were located in the inland developments.

Housing was still in short supply in 1973, and a lengthy list of tenants awaited the arrival of new units. With this shortage, adults without spouses or children, old people, and newly married couples were forced to live with relatives or other households. If newly married

people had any choice of housing at all, it was usually one of the older units which had been vacated by another family in favor of newer accommodation. Young singles had no choice and were expected to stay with relatives.

Tununirmiut Relations with Nature and the Supernatural

Livelihood Patterns

Perhaps more than any other shift, the contemporary Tununirmiut livelihood patterns reflected a dramatic change from traditional modes of relating to nature. The following description serves to introduce the general features of these contemporary livelihood patterns as an overview of major economic factors at play in the early 1970's. Much as the traditional Tununirmiut culture was determined and limited by a characteristic subsistence cycle, contemporary Tununirmiut society was largely a reflection of distinctive livelihood patterns.

Permanent employment opportunities for the contemporary Tununirmiut were strictly limited, and those permanently employed represented only a small percentage of the total work force. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Territorial Government Branch, was the major employer in the settlement. Other employers included the agencies of the: Hudson's Bay Co., R.C.M.P., Department of National Health and Welfare, Department of Transport, Co-operative, and Pan-Arctic. Permanent wage employees for the Territorial Government included: an assistant

Settlement Manager, and a trainee to this position; an assistant social development officer, an assistant adult educator, several classroom assistants, and a school janitor; an assistant game officer, several assistant mechanics, and an assortment of drivers and equipment operators, some employed indirectly under contract with the Co-op for fuel, water and sanitary services. Other permanently employed included: a nursing assistant, and janitor-handiman with Northern Health and Welfare; a special constable with the R.C.M.P., and several housekeepers for each of the missionaries. Outside of these positions, there were only a handful of permanent positions available in the community.

By 1972, Pan-Arctic Oil Company had become a major employer of young men willing to leave the community to work the exploration rigs on Melville Island. Although work outside the settlement was not completely new to the Tununirmiut - Baffin Land Iron Mines had seasonally employed six or seven locals at Milne Inlet from 1963 to 1966 - Pan-Arctic added a significant new dimension as a year round employer who paid well, and returned the men to Pond Inlet every fourth week for rest and relaxation. By 1973 upward of fifteen young men were working for Pan-Arctic, a factor which created significant changes in the economic and social patterns of the settlement. Several of these changes are noted in subsequent sections of the chapter.

Outside of those permanently employed, the characteristic feature of most livelihood patterns was that they were a composite of casual or seasonal wage employment, carving and handicraft work, and hunting and trapping. Within this composite wage employment, when available, usually took precedence.

As with permanent employment, the major casual wage employer was the government. Casual employment was generally of two types: seasonal labor or short term services, and government funded work projects.

Seasonal labor was commonly associated with the construction of government buildings and low-rental housing units. Other seasonal employment included: the annual spring clean-up, maintenance and beautification of settlement buildings, the Hudson's Bay sea-lift, and several jobs associated with the tourist fish camp at Milne Inlet. A variety of other odd jobs made the summer-fall season the most labor intensive period of the year. These more or less regular opportunities were occasionally supplemented by short-term, or one-time employment with "outside" groups. Examples of such opportunities during 1972 and 1973 were the joint Canadian-German research project on ice properties, and the Department of National Defense project to extend and upgrade the settlement air strip.

Short-term part time municipal services were commonly arranged through service contracts. Examples of such employement included part time classroom instructors or assistants; and interpreters, office clerks, housekeepers, the day officer, a telephone operator, and a post office clerk.

Government funded labor intensive work programs were becoming an increasingly important source of casual and seasonal employment by 1972. The forerunner of these programs was the Community Development Program, which was utilized in Pond Inlet from 1966 to 1968 to, mine local soap-stone, provide janitorial services for the community hall and washhouse, and construct and operate the community radio station. By 1972

the Community Development Program had been replaced by a number of new programs including, the Local Initiatives Program (L.I.P.), and Opportunities For Youth (O.F.Y.). This latter program was utilized intensively during the summer of 1973, when fifteen youths were employed in a variety of projects ranging from house painting and construction of a small bridge, to operating a summer recreation program.

A second source of income for the casually employed was from carvings and handicrafts. The establishment (in 1967) of the Toonoonik Sohoonik Co-operative provided for the first time, a reliable market for local carvings and handicrafts. Where local Inuit had previously sold directly to Euro-Canadian residents and visitors, they now had the option of taking their products to the Co-op. The Co-op stablized carving and handicraft work as an element of the livelihood patterns of many. Generally, the importance of carvings and handicrafts as a source of income, varied according to age, sex, and the importance of other income sources. Few of the younger people carved or worked on handicrafts with any conviction, and for those permanently or regularly employed, carving was a poor second choice. Carvers were, for the most part, older adults, with women most prolific. Those too old or physically disabled to do physical labor placed greater emphasis on carving as a source of income. Few, however, based their livelihood solely on carving or handicrafts. The exception that comes immediately to mind is that of the lady head of a single parent family, in whose household the author lived for most of the summer of 1973. Income from her carvings and handicrafts provided the basis of her livelihood, and was only occasionally supplemented with income from other sources.

In 1972 hunting and trapping still played an important, if highly

modified, role in the livelihood patterns of most Tununirmiut. Even the permanently employed hunted when they could, and considered country food an important supplement to store bought goods. One of the most difficult compromises for those permanently employed appears to have been reconciling attachments to the land and hunting, with the restrictions imposed by wage employment. This desire to "quit" town to hunt and live on the land was particularly evident during the summer and fall.

For those not regularly employed, hunting took on even more significance than an "ancestral" attachment to the land. Hunting was not only a major source of cash income, but provided an important source of food which, in turn, reduced reliance on store-bought commodities. One of the most characteristic features of Pond Inlet in 1972, was the dual allegiance of most to the land and settlement. This affinity is further considered in subsequent sections of the chapter.

Transitional Value Preferences

From the preceding description it is evident that the major change which had occurred to traditional Tununirmiut relations with nature was the introduction of a new economic system which was largely independent of nature. This new economic system, together with the introduction of Euro-Canadian beliefs which distinguished and separated the natural and supernatural worlds, resulted in an abrupt break with traditional values.

Comparing traditional and contemporary subsistence patterns illustrates that, while the contemporary Tununirmiut remained attached to nature with a readiness to manipulate their environment, significant changes had occurred in this relationship. An improved technology had

demonstrated to the Tununirmiut that natural forces could be controlled, even mastered, and were not as omnipresent or all-powerful as traditionally believed. This realization was a source of great relief, for it was upon the environment that the Tununirmiut had relied for their precarious survival. Naturally, the new technology was readily accepted and actively sought, a feature which quickly heightened dependency on these materials and shifted the purpose of manipulating nature to one of acquiring specific furs and skins, which could be used to acquire further elements of the new material culture.

Mastery over nature produced a profound dilemma for the Tununirmiut in relating to the supernatural. Traditionally, the natural and supernatural worlds were inextricably interwoven. The supernatural had been viewed as a personification of natural forces, and no distinction was made between the two worlds. Spirits largely controlled the natural world, and most rules of living were related to pacifying these spirits. In summary, economic activities were largely controlled by supernatural beliefs. Improved technology and a growing mastery of the natural environment highlighted the vulnerability of the traditional Tununirmiut world view. Readily, the traditional explanations of natural events as phenomena of the supernatural, were replaced by rational interpretation.

Christian missionaries drove the final wedge between the traditionally integrated natural and supernatural worlds by supplying the Tununirmiut with a new supernatural belief system; a system which clearly distinguished, for the most part, areas of the sacred world from those of the secular world. The Tununirmiut were quick to adopt the devotional features of Christianity: attending church, reading prayers,

abstaining from work and play on Sundays, and the like. This shift to new modes of supernatural observance was not, however, a cataclysmic event for the Tununirmiut. Traditional beliefs had stressed abiding to rules and observances and the new system was merely a different set of rules to be learned. Instead of rules that ensured an abundant source of wildlife, the new rules ensured a happy afterlife and protection from Satan.

Although the Tununirmiut were quick to adopt to the devotional features of the new religion, they were slower to understand the rules of living which governed human relations. Traditionally, these rules had generally not been formulated in terms of the supernatural. Those rules which had been based on supernatural beliefs were almost exclusively related to productive activity. A crucial feature of the new religion was a set of "commandments" which governed and sanctified human relations.

Prominent among the above code were those rules against extra-marital or premarital sex - activities for which the traditional Tununirmiut had had no formal moral code. Although no outward evidence of wife-swapping was noted, the permissive attitude towards sex, particularly among the young, was often cause for concern among the local missionaries. Several instances of "trial-marriages" were noted, and premarital sex appeared to be a growing feature of the developing "dating game" of young adolescents. Further discussion of the effects of the new religion on social relations is reserved for that section of the chapter dealing with settlement organization.

Few vestiges remained in 1972 of the traditional Tununirmiut beliefs. If these beliefs co-existed with those introduced by Euro-Canadians they

had long ago been driven underground and were hidden from Euro-Canadians. On only a few occasions was it possible to get people to discuss traditional beliefs, and then it was often that they made a point that these ways were no longer "proper." Few of the young people expressed any belief in the traditional views, and it was only among the elderly and those most recently removed from the land that there was indication of a traditional world view. On one occasion an elderly Tununirmiut related to the author several of the traditional taboos, and on another occasion described the power of the shaman and the fear with which they were held. Several young friends once confided that they had been told of an elderly lady in the settlement who had "special" powers, but that they did not much believe in this. Although storytelling was still popular among the young, seldom did the stores deal with traditional ways or beliefs. From all appearances there had been a rather abrupt break with traditional beliefs.

More surprisingly was the fact that few examples were noted of the characteristic modes of behavior which had previously been associated with these beliefs. While the author had had occasion to note a degree of continuity with oral tradition in other Inuit settlements,[3] few examples of such expression were observed in Pond Inlet.[4] The general impression is one of a people that had devalued their oral traditions in the face of disapproval from the local Euro-Canadian element. The foremost among these disapprovers appear to have been the early missionaries. It seems their strong reproach had driven not only the traditional beliefs underground, but those "secular type" activities associated with these beliefs. Further discussion of this break with traditional

behavioral patterns is reserved for the subsequent chapter.

Tununirmiut Perceptions of Time and Activity

The cognitive patterns associated with the traditional Tununirmiut preference for "present" time appear to have been relatively resistant to change. The "existential" Tununirmiut, living for today rather than for the past or future, still survived. In fact, being present-orientated had assisted the Tununirmiut to be very pragmatic and to adapt with few difficulties to major cultural change. Whether it was adopting a new religion and technology, accepting a new system of social controls, or fitting into new social arrangements, the Tununirmiut were very realistic. The general attitude toward change among the Tununirmiut appears to have been that, if it would please the Euro-Canadians and, in turn be rewarded, then it would be done.

While the Tununirmiut present-orientation may have assisted Euro-Canadian efforts to introduce their culture, other features of this orientation were, in the view of many Euro-Canadians, an obstacle to the successful adjustment of the Tununirmiut to Euro-Canadian life style. Non-industrial work habits, non-accumulation of resources, and immediate pleasure gratification were features commonly singled out as obstacles to Tununirmiut adjustments to an industrial world based on a future-orientated, mechanical concept of time. Several brief examples serve to illustrate the present-orientated behavior common to the contemporary Tununirmiut. It was not uncommon to note immediate pleasure gratification in the purchasing patterns of the Tununirmiut. The following scene illus-

trates a common occurrence at the Hudson Bay Store: A young man, recently returned from working with Pan Arctic, spent his entire earnings (five hundred dollars) on a new stereo, while his young son, obviously in need of a new pair of "gum-boots," was left wanting. It was a normal course for many Tununirmiut not to have any great commitment to industrial work habits. The following scene illustrates: The author's assistant showed up late for work for the third day in a row, and when asked what happened, replied that he had once again stayed up all evening only to get tired about the time it was to go to work. A final scene supports this aspect: The assistant in the above example, after having not been to work for several days, explained his absence by saying he had had the chance to go hunting, and went.

That these features were prominent among the Tununirmiut was a constant source of frustration for many local Euro-Canadians; a frustration built on the belief that they had somehow not yet managed to "socialize" the Tununirmiut. As frustrating or incomprehensible as these events may have seemed to the Euro-Canadian, they were in fact, an expression of cultural continuity with the traditions of "present" time orientation. The very reason for Euro-Canadians to view such behavior as illogical or unproductive, lie in the fact that continuity with traditional values created a continuing difference between the two groups.

Interrelated as it was traditionally with a preference for "present" time, "being" activity remained, not surprisingly, a characteristic Tununirmiut mode of expression. Spontaneous, self-expressive activity was a highly visible mode of the contemporary Tununirmiut. As in traditional Tununirmiut culture, "present" time and "being" activity

value preferences combined in a notable underlying leisure ethic. Unlike the traditional culture however, this leisure ethic was much less pervading. Euro-Canadians had largely succeeded in reducing the traditionally interrelated life style; work had become opposed to leisure, and the influence of the leisure ethic over this former sphere was significantly reduced. The leisure ethic had become largely confined to the social sphere, where it still remained highly visible in a propensity to visit, feast and recreate. This latter feature of the contemporary leisure ethic is further discussed in the next chapter.

Lest the preceding discussion be viewed as an oversimplification of the Tununirmiut as a homogeneous group, it must be noted that there was considerable variation among individual Tununirmiut. This variation was largely a function of the degree of attachment to the Euro-Canadian economic system - an attachment which necessitated varying acceptance of "future" time and goal-orientated activity. Generally, those most attached to Euro-Canadian economics were also most attached to the values associated with this system. It was noted in Pond Inlet that this variation in attachment to Euro-Canadian employment and its associated values, was a determining factor in a developing socio-economic class system among the Tununirmiut.

Settlement Social Organizations

The permeating aspect of contemporary Tununirmiut settlement life in the early 1970's was the presence of a sub-group of Euro-Canadians. This element held, for the most part, the economic, political and social

power in the settlement. Although such power was not necessarily a part of intragroup relations, Euro-Canadians were capable of, and in most cases did control and direct intergroup relations unilaterally. Acknowledging such control, one cannot realistically interpret intergroup contacts as occurring between two autonomous groups. In all but a few cases these contacts were characterized by a unilateral exchange of cultural elements. Significantly, one of the few spheres which appears to have offered opportunity for bilateral exchange was the recreation sphere. This feature is developed at length in the next chapter.

Rather than Pond Inlet being a homogeneous settlement, it was therefore characterized by two distinct sub-groups, the Tununirmiut, and the Euro-Canadians. In many respects these two sub-groups functioned indepedntly and related through a series of formalized networks. So that, while the Tununirmiut were attached to many aspects of Euro-Canadian society, there remained a loosely held pluralism which surfaced as distinctly different modes of social relation within the respective sub-groups. To adequately understand contemporary settlement life it is necessary to consider these component groups, and the intergroup relations. This section begins with a brief overview of the local Euro-Canadian group.

A pivotal aspect of the local Euro-Canadian group was the role they assumed as "socializers" vis-a-vis the Tununirmiut. Vallee has suggested four aspects to this role, including: (1) one is an exemplar; (2) one must maintain a favorable image and group solidarity in the face of "inferiors"; (3) one must control the sanctions, or the system of rewards and penalties; and (4) one is invested with a sense of superiority over the socializee (1961; 123-4). Viewing socialization in this way,

nearly all of the Euro-Canadians in Pond, whether explicitly in the course of their job or implicity in their social relations, assumed the role of socializer vis-a-vis the Tununirmiut.

For the most part, Euro-Canadians established themselves as "ideal" persons to whom the Tununirmiut were expected to aspire and live up to. Lest the Tununirmiut should realize the human weaknesses of the Euro-Canadian exemplar, intragroup sanctions functioned to ensure a favorable image and sense of solidarity in the face of the Tununirmiut.

A most illustrative example of this general feature of the Euro-Canadian element occurred in 1973, when it was learned that a contingent of army personnel were arriving in Pond Inlet to extend the settlement's air strip. Word of the mass arrival of these "outsiders" was a source of major apprehension among the local Euro-Canadians. Exaggerated stories circulated about events that had surrounded the army's intervention several years previous in Pangnirtung, southern Baffin Island. This anxiety serves to illustrate the underlying attitude of most local Euro-Canadians that they had to "look after the good" of the Tununirmiut. It was the fear that the army personnel would become involved with heavy drinking, overt sexual relations with Tununirmiut women, and conflict with the settlement's young men, that caused local Euro-Canadians most concern.

The army personnel differed in several significant respects from the local Euro-Canadians. A prominent feature of most local Euro-Canadian job roles was that they required involvement with the Tununirmiut; involvement which required a code of behavior vis-a-vis their Tununirmiut clients, customers, parishioners, et cetera. This code of behavior was extended to a set of rules concerning attitudes and behavior relative to

social relations. The author had been quickly made aware of these rules, as indeed most newcomers were. The army, however, did not include within their terms of employment interaction with the Tununirmiut. As such, they could not be expected to subscribe to the expectations and demands inherent in the job roles of other local Euro-Canadians. More significantly, they could be expected to deviate from the set of rules which governed local Euro-Canadians social relations with the Tununirmiut. Probably most disturbing was the knowledge that social pressures, which might have otherwise been brought to bear on individual deviants, were ineffective against a group which was essentially outside the local Euro-Canadian social milieu. As a postscript to this example, it should be mentioned that, for the most part, these apprehensions proved unfounded. Few problems were noted during the summer of 1973, and the army personnel established friendly, if somewhat distant, relations with local Euro-Canadians and Tununirmiut.

If a central feature of the Euro-Canadian role was that of the socializer, it might be asked what the "ideal type" was, to which they aspired to socialize the Tununirmiut. Attempting to compose a picture of the "ideal" Tununirmiut reveals a lack of unanimity among the local Euro-Canadians with respect to this objective. This lack of consensus had its sources in:

(1) the constant turnover of local personnel and a resulting lack of continuity in policies and methods;

(2) the variations in individual values;

(3) the subtle competition among individuals;

(4) the lack of a clearly fixed hierarchy of goals;

(5) the vague functions inherent in certain offices and agencies, the overlapping of some functions and the conflicts arising as a result; and,

(6) the difficulty of integrating external demands and expectations of local needs.

These factors reduced, in part, the Euro-Canadian ability to completely soicalize the Tununirmiut toward some "ideal type." Because of the importance of these variations in understanding intergroup contacts, they are briefly considered below.

The Euro-Canadian element was a differentiated group made up, for the most part, of transients representing commercial and governmental agencies. With the exception of the two missionaries and a former school principal who was married to a local girl, these people were primarily orientated to groups and relations outside Pond Inlet. With few exceptions, Pond Inlet was, at best, a temporary home for Euro-Canadians.

This transient nature of Euro-Canadians was noted in the course of the year intervening the two summers the writer spent in the settlement. Over the course of this period there was an almost complete turnover of personnel including: both the R.C.M.P. constable and officer in charge; both nurses, the settlement manager, a Bay clerk, the wildlife officer, the mechanic, and a wholesale change of teachers, including the principal. In fact, the only Euro-Canadians constant over this period were the missionaries, Bay manager, and the (previously mentioned) retired principal.

Arising from this constant turnover was a lack of continuity in policies and methods at the local level. This lack of continuity was particularly evident in those positions featuring a relatively diffuse role and an accompanying degree of discretionary power. Such a position in Pond Inlet was that of the settlement manager, and the consequences of turnover in this position vividly illustrates the aspect of discontinuity. During the summer of 1973 the incumbent, having served for several years in Pond Inlet, was transferred to a second settlement. His replacement, also a man with arctic experience, arrived shortly thereafter and remained throughout the following year. With some trepidation, a short stereotyping of the respective administrative styles is offered to illustrate the point. The original incumbent was of the "old school" of settlement administrators, viewing the welfare of locals and the smooth running of the settlement as his primary responsibility. An efficient and directive approach best suited these responsibilities. His replacement on the other hand, viewed his primary responsibilities as assisting locals to assume responsibility for their personal welfare and the settlements operation. A laissez-faire, non-directive approach suited these objectives. These distinctive styles of administering, albeit grossly oversimplified, led to a major shift in Tununirmiut relations with the administrator. Not surprising, this changed was variously viewed by the locals, some believing the "old" style to be more effective, others taking to the new style.

A second characteristic of local discontinuity of policy and methods was that of the continuing proliferation of Euro-Canadian roles, and the resulting trend to specificity of job responsibilities. The arrival in

1973 of a social worker illustrates this continuing trend to specific roles. Prior to her arrival, responsibility for the Tununirmiut welfare and the issuance of "relief" had been the responsibility of the settlement manager. Further back, when the R.C.M.P. constable was the sole government representative in the community, these responsibilities, together with a host of other duties, fell to the R.C.M.P.. Characteristically, the early Euro-Canadians (the R.C.M.P., missionaries, and entrepreneur) assumed a much more diffuse and personal role than that required by their contemporaries in southern Canada. With the arrival of more and more Euro-Canadians (the social worker, for example) roles tended to become more specific, with an accompanying tendency to deal with the Tununirmiut on a less personal basis. This tendency was further supported by the rapid turnover of personnel.

The above examples serve to briefly illustrate the discontinuity characteristic of most intergroup relations. A significant consequence of this discontinuity was the attitude which appears to have developed among the Tununirmiut that the rules of interaction with the Euro-Canadians were somewhat arbitrary. Individual Euro-Canadian idiosyncracies were believed more important than any differences in functions or goals between the various agencies.

The above perception was lent credibility by the actual differences in values of individual Euro-Canadians. Much has been made of the fact that even among those basic values of Euro-Canadian culture there is considerable variation.[5] Not surprisingly, the variations in values of the Euro-Canadian society-at-large were reflected locally. Many locals considered the retired school principal who lived in Pond Inlet to be more

"Tununirmiut" than Euro-Canadian, particularly as he appeared to ascribe more readily to "present" time and expressions of "being" activity. One of the best illustrations of the effects of individual value variations can be found in the previous example of the respective development approaches of the two settlement managers.

The arrival in 1972 of the (then) Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, serves to illustrate still another form of in-group variation, the subtle competition that existed among local Euro-Canadians. With the arrival of dignitaries this competition surfaced as an attempt to receive that share of the visitor's time commensurate with the power and status of the individual's role. A significant lack of consensus surrounded local roles, however, and it was a matter of importance for each Euro-Canadian to reinforce their respective role status by having a degree of access to the visiting dignitary. Upon reflection it is interesting to note that the author ascribed to this same need by arranging, for the visitor's benefit, a game of Inuit baseball.

Vallee has described a similar status competition, as manifested in receptions, among the Euro-Canadians of Baker Lake (1961; 105-6). It appears that the disruptions which resulted from such visits in Baker Lake were more significant than those which occurred in the above example. One of the reasons such status was less noted in Pond Inlet appears to have been the fact that the (then) settlement manager had managed to establish a relatively clear position of status within his job. This status served somewhat to clarify the rank and procedure for receiving dignitaries.

Several features of the author's relationship with the "established" Euro-Canadian element serve to illustrate other forms of covert compet-

ition. A degree of resentment was occasionally felt as a result of efforts which were viewed by local Euro-Canadians as reflecting personally on previous efforts to provide the Tununirmiut with recreation opportunities. Subtle pressure appears to have been placed on all newcomers to defer to the established Euro-Canadians and to look to them for guidance. Spontaneous or uncalled for service to the Tununirmiut was viewed by local Euro-Canadians as the right only of those whose esteem was associated with a length of time in the community. Subtle resentment developed toward any "upstart" newcomer who assumed these rights. Upon reflection it seems that the author was probably guilty of this transgression.

A second feature of the author's job itself created further segregation from other local Euro-Canadians. A basic part of the job of recreation director was to remove the social distance between the author and the Tununirmiut; a feature central to the objectives of the job, but in sharp contrast to the social milieu established by most in the course of their job. This segregation was further developed in a conscious effort to become involved with Tununirmiut social activities in preference to Euro-Canadian in-group activities.

A final aspect of variations in the Euro-Canadian "community" were those various sources of strain and dilemma resulting from the organizational structure to which they were attached through their jobs. These strains appear to have resulted from the lack of a clearly fixed hierarchy of goals, the vagueness of job responsibilities, and the difficulty surrounding mediating external demands to local needs. Several examples serve to illustrate these sources of strain.

Upon first arriving in the settlement, the established Euro-Canadian "community" was approached by the author to determine their estimation of local recreation needs and the priority of goals. It soon became evident that little consensus existed on any overall pattern of recreation service, or the priority of recreation goals. Recreation was contrastingly viewed as a secondary priority with respect to other local needs on the one hand, and as an answer to many of the settlement's social problems on the other hand. This lack of agreement on the role and priority of local recreation resulted in the author having a great deal of discretionary power in terms of the programs implemented. A similar degree of discretionary power resulted in a wide range of approaches among local Euro-Canadians, just as it led the author to develop an approach unlike that employed by recreation directors in other settlements.[6]

Closely related but distinct from this local discretionary power, was the vague job description for the position: "to develop and initiate a summer recreation program." Considerable discretion was necessary to interpret these responsibilities, and a deal of uncertainty often accompanied local decisions for which there was no precedence. It was noted a similar degree of uncertainty was a feature of many other Euro-Canadian job positions.

A second personal example illustrates the strain that often resulted from overlapping, sometimes conflicting, functions of two or more local agencies. In this case the conflict occurred with the Anglican Church, an institution which had long been the centre of social life in the settlement. Although this position had recently been moderated with the introduction of other institutions such as territorial schooling, the

church's continued dominance was reflected in the fact other agencies judiciously avoided programming activities in conflict with those of the former agency. This in itself posed few problems, but the conflicting aims of social activities sponsored by other agencies sometimes created strained relations with the church. The author's attempt to introduce bingo into the settlement was a case in point. Noting that bingo was exceedingly popular in other arctic settlements, and seeing it as an activity from which the local youth club could gain some revenue, it was suggested to this group that they sponsor weekly bingos. After a considerable period of unaccountable "foot-dragging" it was finally brought to attention that the Anglican minister tacitly disapproved of bingo because it was a form of gambling. To eliminate any strain which might have resulted from implementing bingos the idea was quickly dropped. Interestingly, this decision was met with great relief by the youth club, who had felt themselves in the middle of an Euro-Canadian disagreement. It is fair to note that this example was only one of a number of minor strifes which marked interagency relations in Pond Inlet. This friction was often exacerbated if the protagonists were rigid in character.

A final peculiarity of the author's job illustrates that source of strain which results when external expectations conflict with local needs. A feature of the Euro-Canadian recreation system is its "organized nature," and an assumption based on this principle was that those recreation directors hired by the Territorial Recreation Division would establish some form of organized recreation program. A number of factors served to reinforce these expectations, including the original orientation sessions each employee underwent, and the reporting and evaluation systems which

were established. This external expectation to develop an organized program of recreation was often a source of personal strain in the face of the traditional Tununirmiut expressive mode of unstructured, spontaneous, non-time bound activity. This trait of contemporary recreation patterns is dealt with in detail in the next chapter, it being sufficient here to note that similar sources of strain were common to many local Euro-Canadians.

In summary, the local Euro-Canadian group, while holding a superior power position with respect to the Tununirmiut and assuming the role of "socializer," was sufficiently varied to allow a number of variant patterns and expressions. Having considered the Euro-Canadian sub-group, attention can be shifted to documenting the characteristic Tununirmiut social arrangements.

A central feature of traditional Tununirmiut social relations was noted in Chapter 3 to be its flexibility to collateral, lineal, and individual relational modes. Collateral relations appear to have been relatively well developed through such social arrangements as the extended family, reciprocal exchange, sharing partners, and communal property. Characteristically, these relations featured a rather diffuse style of leadership which supported group decision-making and cooperative hunting effort. A rather well developed patrilineal system of social relations were noted on the other hand, within the nuclear family. The third activity modality, individualism, was highly valued when directed toward subsistence activity. It has been suggested that one reason for this flexibility of social arrangements lies in the fact that the norms governing relations were not sanctified as supernatural commandments, but existed as a code of "secular" morals. This flexibility served the

Tununirmiut well in their efforts to adjust to Euro-Canadian social structures, while at the same time maintaining a degree of continuity with traditional social arrangements. Interestingly, the very flexibility which allowed Euro-Canadians to intervene successfully, has also been identified as the reason for the incomplete assimilation of the Tununirmiut.

Settlement life had reinforced, for the Tununirmiut, the importance of the elementary family as the basic unit of kinship. This family unit could, as a rule, be identified by household occupancy. Procuring and consuming food had become primarily a family matter. The second trait of household independence was the increasing importance of cash incomes. Money was firstly a household possession, and secondly an individual possession. This trend toward economic self-sufficiency was most pronounced among families where one or more of its members were permanently employed.

Within the family, roles were similar to those of the traditional era. The family functioned as a cooperative team, with children expected to make a contribution to household and economic endeavors. Labor was clearly divided, with able-bodies males expected to contribute to family income, and women to work about the house.

Not withstanding these generalities, several significant shifts in family roles were noted. In some families the wife's income from such sources as carvings, handicrafts or part-time work, was an increasingly important component of the family income. A second development was the increasing wage earning power of young people who, because of education and their knowledge of English, had opportunity for most of the better jobs in the community. These shifts tended to undermine the role of the

male household head, although the trend was not marked in the early 1970's. It can be expected, however, that such shifts in family roles will accelerate, producing a potentially major role crises in the future. Indeed, the increased employment of young men with Pan Arctic was noted to have accelerated these changes dramatically over the course of a single year.

Although the nuclear family was gaining importance and independence in Tununirmiut society, collateral relations were still a characteristic trait of contemporary settlement life. A central component of this expression of collaterality was the constant rounds of daily visiting among the Tununirmiut. To some extent the physical proximity of related families and members of former camps facilitated collateral relations, although the development of new housing areas was causing a split of such related families. Reciprocal exchange and sharing between nuclear families was limited, in the main, to country food and those items related to obtaining these foods. Money was not one of the items readily shared, nor were most of the other items of the Euro-Canadian material culture. It appears that there was a definite limit to what one could be expected to share, with those items associated with land-based subsistence activity most often shared. The traditional sharing and cooperative effort of family units commonly occurred when they had "quit" the community to hunt or trap together.

Cooperative hunting was best illustrated with the narwhal hunt, when it was necessary for the boatman to work in unison with others to "herd" the narwhal so that a close approach was possible. While the whale meat and <u>muktuk</u> was freely shared, the valuable tusk was the personal property of the one who had shot the whale. If there was any form of sharing of

the income from the tusk it was usually associated with the repayment of some past debt.

Several traits of contemporary marriage reflected the traditional role it played in support of collateral relations. Many Tununirmiut still married as a means of securing economic security for themselves and the immediate family. It is speculated that one of the reasons for the notable prestige in marriage to a white man was the economic security the union provided the family of the spouse. Indeed, on more than one occasion the author was subjected to a lengthy and passionate description of the qualities of one or another of a father's daughters. No doubt a large part of the motivation behind these efforts to arrange marriage was the economic security it was expected to bring. Although "trial marriages" had been largely replaced by the normal Euro-Canadian methods of choosing a partner, one instance of such a traditional arrangement was observed during the time the author was in the settlement.

Other aspects of Tununirmiut marriage however, reflected a growing shift away from arranged marriages for economic reasons. Whereas the traditional arrangement had been a loosely adaptable economic arrangement which might feature wife-swapping and extra-marital sex, the Christian norms of contemporary society had all but eliminated such practice among contemporary Tununirmiut. In addition to establishing a system of formalized norms around marriage, religion added a second criteria for marriage, that of the importance of the appropriate religious affiliation of the spouse. This trait of contemporary spouse selection is best illustrated by a young girl of the Roman Catholic faith who confided she would soon have to move to Igloolik because there were no

eligible bachelors of the same faith in Pond Inlet.

By 1972 the common course for youngsters was to select their own mates, and compatibility and romance were an increasingly important aspect of this selection process. That the "dating game" was a recent phenomena is illustrated in the following description of relations only a few years previous:

> Certainly there was little outward evidence of promiscuity there. One of its most remarkable aspects, in fact, was the complete absence of the village scene of any boy/girl relationship: boys played together, the girls played together, but teenage boy was never seen with teenage girl and I never once saw the springtime horseplay or moony wanderings-around-together of the south (Burnford, 1973; 85).

If not fully developed, dating was, nevertheless, an integral part of adolescent life by 1972. In reflection, it occurs that the summer recreation program which was run in 1972 and 1973 may have significantly contributed to this feature of adolescent relations by providing formal situations for such relations to develop.

A final social arrangement supporting collaterality was the interchangeability of people from one family to another, or the substitution of one person for another in various roles. This feature was noted as custom adoptions, single-parent families, and the shifting of children from one family to another and back.

Custom adoption commonly occurred when young married couples promised one of their first born children to a second couple (usually relatives) who were childless. On other occasions children would be adopted by the elderly who needed a young man or women to care for them, or by a widow

who wished a young child to care for and to keep company. Usually a family would adopt the child of an unmarried daughter if she proved too young, or did not have the inclination to care for the child.

An interesting situation which developed around the birth of the Settlement Manager's second child illustrates this traditional feature of custom adoption. The situation occurred as a result of a request by a childless couple to have the child the wife was carrying. Taking the request as a joke, the Settlement Manager's wife had simply laughed good naturedly. Unfortunately her laughter was misinterpreted as an acceptance of the couple's proposal, and when she later returned to the settlement with her newborn child the couple were soon at her home to claim "their" new child. Although the misunderstanding was quickly cleared up, it resulted in some hard feelings on the part of the couple who had assumed they would soon have a young son to help them in their later years (Burnford, 1973; 186).

It was usual for young girls, with the assistance of their mothers, to bring up their illegitimate children, and there appeared to be little social condemnation of such a situation. In only one case did it appear that there was any overt sign of disapproval or social isolation, and in this case the girl in question had two illegitimate children, both from temporary liaisons with transient Euro-Canadians. The girl in this case was considered too promiscuous, and as such, unsuitable as a mate for any of the young men in the settlement.

A rather tragic incident illustrates the easy shifting of children from one family to another. In this situation a young girl had drowned while playing on the ice floes near the settlement. Her death was not

discovered for several days however, as her parents originally assumed that when she had not returned home she was simply staying with one of the relatives or friends for several days. When the parents finally began to worry that something might be amiss, it was necessary to conduct an exhaustive house to house search, as it was still believed she must have fallen asleep in one of them. It was not until this possibility had been thoroughly investigated, that any real concern was felt and the shore area was searched. Although the previous example was perhaps the most dramatic of this easy shifting of children from home to home, it was a common feature of daily life to hear radio broadcasts by parents trying to locate the whereabouts of their wandering children. It seemed to be the rule, rather than the exception, for one or two people to be asleep in some area or another of the author's home, and on more than one occasion young children had to be sent home because their parents had become worried by not seeing them for several days.

An important shift from traditional modes of relating was the rising preference among contemporary Tununirmiut for expressions of individuality. Whereas these expressions had traditionally been restricted mainly to economic activity, individualism had begun to invade most other behavioral spheres by the early 1970's. The rising importance of individualism is not surprising in light of the fact that it was the dominant relational mode of Euro-Canadians, who largely controlled most intergroup relations in the settlement. Indeed, it was on those occasions when the Tununirmiut were required to relate to local Euro-Canadians that individualism surfaced most notably. Those most attached to the Euro-Canadian economic system and its associated values were noted to be most individualistic.

A characteristic of individualism, personal property rights, was noted to have become increasingly important to the Tununirmiut, although the acceptance of this right was far from universal. The variation in the degree of acceptance of this right was the source of considerable strain among both the Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadians. While subtle pressures still functioned against those who held to personal property too religiously, a significant element of the Tununirmiut were becoming more and more attached to these rights. Complicating the incomplete acceptance of personal property rights were the formalized Euro-Canadian sanctions against their violation. The local R.C.M.P. constable was quick to point out that a greater part of his time was being spent protecting personal property rights and prosecuting violators.

The development of values associated with the acquisition of personal property were no more formed than the rights of property discussed above. Traditionally, a series or norms had functioned against the acquisition of personal wealth if it jeopardized the security of the group-at-large. Euro-Canadians had introduced the Tununirmiut to a system based on the spirit of competition for resources and the acquisition of personal wealth. Those pressures that functioned against holding to property rights also functioned to limit the acquisition of personal property. Naturally, these conflicting, often precariously balanced values were the cause of intense internal pressures. The extent of this pressure is dramatically illustrated in a conversation the author once had with the (then) assistant to the settlement manager. Reflecting on how his position seemed to cause a constant series of conflicting expectations from "whites" on the one hand, and his own people on the other

hand, he wondered if it was possible to ever make the right choices or decisions. It seemed to him that if he held to the values his people pressured him to he would be considered inefficient by the white men, while if he abscribed to the dominant Euro-Canadian values he was rejected by his own people. If there is a single lasting impression of the community of Pond Inlet it is the young man's comment to the effect that it might be an easier choice to die than to face these daily pressures.[7]

It is obvious that the roles many Tununirmiut found themselves in were a significant addition to settlement life. Most of these new roles had developed with the original need to relate to Euro-Canadians, and the institutions and agencies they represented. From the earliest contacts the role of the intergroup mediator had assumed a position of importance and prestige. With the recent proliferation of Euro-Canadian agents this role of mediation had become expanded into a number of formalized groups. In Pond Inlet the primary purpose of such groups as the Settlement Council, Educational Advisory Committee, Housing Association, Community Club, Anglican Vestry and any number of other secondary groups, was to expedite and formalize intergroup relations.

As a result of the development of the above groups, new patterns of leadership were emerging among the Tununirmiut. Whereas decisions which affected the group-at-large had traditionally been made by reaching a consensus among all those present, these new decision-making groups often made decisions without referring to the community-at-large. A central feature of these new groups was that the leadership was functionally specific and based on the powers inherent in particular roles.

The functioning of Settlement Council illustrates the difficulties

that often accompanied attempts to balance new forms of leadership with traditional means of reaching consensus. In the past Council had been dominated by the decisions and actions of the settlement manager. While this approach had resulted in a reasonably efficient Council, it had raised concern among councillors and the settlement-at-large that decisions were being made without adequate discussion. With the arrival of the new manager, Council was given most of the responsibility previously assumed by the manager. While this transfer of responsibility was met with initial trepidation by most councillors who were used to looking to the manager for his "suggestions," the power to control decision-making processes eventually surfaced in the rather traditional form of consensus taking. This approach would have appeared very inefficient by Euro-Canadian standards, as it was often the case on major decisions that a considerable amount of time would be spent trying to convince the minority of the wisdom of a particular position. If the processes proved to be slow by Euro-Canadian expectations, it was noted that they were the cause of considerable satisfaction for the Tununirmiut.

A final aspect of the development of new leadership patterns in the settlement was the development of a socioeconomic class system among the Tununirmiut. This class system was not particularly well defined, but surfaced as those most attached to the Euro-Canadian systems and values assuming the majority of the new leadership roles. The degree of power and prestige associated with these roles separated this "elite" group from other Tununirmiut.

Summary

Figure 9 illustrates the major shifts which appear to have occurred in the Tununirmiut value profile. These shifts can only be interpreted as general trends which have, as yet, not been consolidated. Indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of contemporary Tununirmiut society was the variation among individual Tununirmiut to these trends.

In general, the most profound break appears to have occurred with the traditional modes of relating with nature and the supernatural. At the root of this shift was the dependency on the Euro-Canadian economic system and the acceptance of the devotional features of Christianity. The values which the Tununirmiut had maintained most continuity with appear to have been those associated with the traditional modes of relating to "present" time and "being" activity. Although there was considerable variation among individual Tununirmiut with respect to the degree of attachment to these orientations, an underlying leisure ethic appears to have articulated many contemporary Tununirmiut behavioral patterns. Flexibility to the various modes of relating to others was still a characteristic feature of contemporary Tununirmiut social organization, although individualism appears to have been gaining importance as an expressive mode. Finally, a significant aspect of contemporary Tununirmiut culture appears to have been a developing social class system based primarily on the degree of assimilation to Euro-Canadian values and ways.

VALUE ORIENTATION	PREFERENCE RANK ORDER
MAN-NATURE	MASTERY OVER > IN HARMONY > SUBJUGATION TO also, MASTERY OVER = IN HARMONY > SUBJUGATION TO (Varies according to degree of attachment to Euro-Canadian economic system)
TIME	PRESENT > FUTURE > PAST also, PRESENT = FUTURE > PAST less commonly, FUTURE > PRESENT > PAST (Varies according to degree of attachment, as above)
ACTIVITY	BEING > DOING = BEING-IN-BECOMING also, BEING = DOING = BEING-IN-BECOMING less commonly, DOING > BEING = BEING-IN-BECOMING (Varies according to degree of attachment, as above)
MAN-MAN	INDIVIDUAL = COLLATERAL = LINEAL also, COLLATERAL > INDIVIDUAL = LINEAL also, INDIVIDUAL > COLLATERAL = LINEAL (Varies according to degree of attachment, as above)

FIGURE 9. Contemporary Tununirmiut Value Profile

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VI

[1]The central features of the Euro-Canadian role as a socializer are discussed on pages 133-4 of this chapter.

[2]Among the new facilities which may have had impact on the settlement lifestyle in recent years are: the school addition which includes a gymansium; a community hall,and a hotel. As these facilities were constructed after the field work for this study was completed, any comments about the effects of these facilities on settlement life would be purely speculative.

[3]In particular, the Baker Lake people were noted to have maintained continuity with traditional storytelling and drum dancing. Significantly, the expression of these oral traditions was encouraged by the local adult educator, who provided the oldtimers with a building in which they could meet on a regular basis for the purpose of visiting and exchanging traditions. It was while the author was conducting a workshop in this community, that it was possible to have the oldtimers perform a community drum dance.

During the summer of 1976 the author accompanied a group of Inuit drum dancers from Baker Lake and Coppermine to Montreal where they demonstrated for audiences.

Perhaps the best known Inuit drum dancing group is the Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers who have performed at a number of special occasions throughout the North, and in other parts of Canada.

[4]The possibility of several factors limiting this observation is discussed in Chapter 7, pages 157-60.

[5]These variations were discussed in Chapter 5, pages 93-6.

[6]Those recreation directors hired under the program were required to submit monthly and final reports on their activities. It was from these program reports that it was possible to compare the respective programs.

[7]The author met the same young man several years later when he was the Settlement Secretary for the Hamlet of Pond Inlet. Happily, he seemed to have developed enough self-confidence to withstand the continuing pressures of his job position.

Chapter VII

CONTEMPORARY TUNUNIRMIUT RECREATION PATTERNS

Introduction

The central purpose of this chapter was to analyze contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns as processes resulting from intercultural contacts with Euro-Canadians. This analysis takes place within the framework of transitional values identified in the previous chapter.

Toward this purpose, the first section of the chapter details the contemporary Tununirmiut tendency toward "secular" modes of recreation largely precipitated by an abrupt break with traditional beliefs and associated behavior. The second section identifies the processes and patterns resulting from the contact of the traditional leisure ethic and the Euro-Canadian work ethic, as reflected in recreation behavior. The third section documents the changes which have occurred to the role of recreation within contemporary Tununirmiut social organization. To further illustrate the patterns of contemporary Tununirmiut recreation the final section describes several typical recreation patterns noted by the author during the summers of 1972 and 1973.

To include in this chapter the numerous specific details of the summer recreation programs run by the author, would have burdened the central purpose of identifying major Tununirmiut recreation trends. For this reason, the details of the specific program run in the summer of 1972

were included as Appendix "A" for those interested in the program particulars.

Tununirmiut Beliefs and the Trend Toward Secularized Recreation

A significant result of the rather abrupt break with traditional modes of relating with nature and the supernatural was that the contemporary Tununirmiut had devalued many of the forms of recreation formerly related to this traditional world view. By 1972, these recreation activities had either been replaced, driven underground, or divorced from traditional beliefs and practises. In effect, most recreation activities concomitant with religious or supernatural concepts had been replaced by secular modes of recreation.

The original shift from traditional values associated with relating to nature and the supernatural had been largely precipitated by the intervention of Euro-Canadian economy and religion. The loss of recreation patterns associated with these traditional values was further expedited by the early missionaires who had disapproved of such activities, however remotely related they were to "pagan" beliefs. The end result was that by 1972, Tununirmiut recreation activity concomitant with traditional religion had been either replaced, or driven underground where it was observed surreptitiously out of the view of Euro-Canadians.

A part of the difficulty in documenting such forms of concomitant recreation then, lie in the fact that expressions of traditional beliefs, in whatever form, were taboo especially in front of Euro-Canadians. An

example serves to illustrate how pervasive this taboo was. On only two occasions was direct questioning used to uncover Tununirmiut oral traditions, such as myths and folklore. On these occasions an elderly Tununirmiut hesitantly discussed some of the traditional taboos, and the role of the shaman in traditional society. On both occasions the line of questioning was an apparent course of considerable strain for the informant, and the interpreter whose services were necessary. No doubt a part of this strain resulted because expression of such beliefs was considered immoral according to Christian "commandments." The code against expressing such beliefs, particularly in front of Euro-Canadians, appears to have been particularly strong. The most characteristic aspect of the above occasions was the continual reassurance, by both the informant and interpreter, that while these beliefs may have once been accepted, they were no longer considered proper. Vallee has described a similar occurrence which occurred some years ago among the elderly Inuit ladies of Baker Lake, and illustrates the influence the missionaries had among these people (1961; 175-6). On this particular occasion, Vallee had opportunity to witness a group of elderly ladies singing "old songs." As the singers became increasingly enthusiastic, their songs progressed from those about hunting and work, to those associated with a shamanistic séance. The following day, as Vallee discovered, the old ladies suffered great guilt, and rushed to the missionary to confess and ask forgiveness. This example illustrates not only the taboo on traditional religion, but how it had been ramified to include the lore and songs only incidentally connected with such beliefs. It is suspected that the same form of taboo functioned among the Tununirmiut.

Whatever the source of strain which resulted from direct questioning

in the first instance above, it was obviously disruptive for informant and interpreter alike. For this reason, this approach to documentation was abandoned by the author. Subsequently, those traditional Tununirmiut beliefs, and the folklore and songs associated with these beliefs, which were noted occurred without direct intervention by the author.

A second factor served to limit attempts to uncover recreation concomitant with traditional religious beliefs. This limitation resulted from the fact that the investigation into such activities was undertaken, of necessity, during the summer, a time of year when such activity was traditionally restricted. An example serves to illustrate the importance of the right setting for such traditional activity.

Storytelling was always an important feature of the endless rounds of visiting which occurred at the author's house. Not once however, during the time the author lived in a house, did such stories ever turn to accounts of spirits or supernatural forces. Toward the end of the first summer however, it was necessary to move from a house into a tent. At this time of the year the sun was once again beginning to set and darkness would return for a few hours each night. It was in the tent during these one or two hours of darkness, with a single candle serving to illuminate the faces of those that sat around the tent visiting, that stories of spirits, demons, shamans, and other dark and mysterious forces were first heard. It was not hard to imagine how, in similar situations, the Tununirmiut must have handed down their oral traditions in song and story from generation to generation. It was equally easy to understand why the animated, uninhibited stories that were a feature of these occasions, did not take place during a time of year when the sun shone continually. Equally

interesting was the fact that the large, brightly lit modern prefabricated homes in which the Tununirmiut lived in the early 1970's were probably no more conducive to such activities, and contributed in their own way to the demise of oral tradition.

It was no easier to find examples of other forms of oral tradition, such as song and dance. Although people readily admitted they remembered drum dancing, such dances were not held anymore and most people were not interested in talking about such activity. The same taboo which functioned against traditional folklore appears to have also restricted traditional song and dance. This condition is not surprising in light of the close relation such forms of expression had with traditional beliefs. Indeed as was earlier noted, the traditional belief was that all songs drew inspiration from the original spirit songs and were often used by both the shaman and the common man to communicate with these spirits.[1]

The limitations which restricted documenting traditional folklore also limited the documentation of song and dance. On several occasions it was suggested to some of the old timers that it might be interesting to substitute a traditional drum dance for the regular Friday night dance. This suggestion was never entertained, and possibly was dismissed outright as improper. Efforts to locate a drum, or even to talk to people about the meaning of drum dancing, met with little success. Interestingly, the author had occasion, several years later, to experience how difficult it was for the Inuit to be comfortable explaining the meaning of their traditional songs and dances. In this instance, it was necessary to choreograph the songs and dances which were to be demonstrated for audiences at the Montreal Olympics. It took the better part of a complete

day to explain, through an interpreter, why it was necessary to know the meanings of the songs, and to get the descriptions of these songs. Throughout this laborious process it was obvious the interpreter was having great difficulty translating the meanings of these songs into Euro-Canadian concepts. More often than not she ended her attempts to explain with an exasperated "and some other things which are not really clear." Such "other things" were possibly about spirits, demons or other traditional concepts of the supernatural, which she felt could not be properly explained.

If traditional song and dance was in little evidence, there was no shortage of contemporary forms of such expression. In one of the earliest written records of the Tununirmiut, McClintock noted an European fiddle was already among their possessions (1860; 165). One can assume the Tununirmiut were somewhat acquainted with the playing of such an instrument even at this early date, for it to have been of enough value to trade for. By 1972, Euro-Canadian music and dance was an important feature of Tununirmiut recreation patterns. Apparently this trait of Euro-Canadian culture had been readily accepted as replacement for the traditional song and dance modes.

The influence of the earliest whalers could still be found in contemporary Tununirmiut music and dance. One resident played a concertina which he claimed had been obtained by his father in trade with early Scottish whalers. His repertoire of songs was certainly characteristic of Scottish music. The Friday dances which occurred at the small community hall featured Scottish music and a rather unique modification of the Scottish reel. As these dances were a significant part of settlement life a detailed account is given in the final section of the chapter.

Other forms of contemporary music were also popular. The local radio station broadcast both rock music and country and western tunes, and played an important role in the daily entertainment of many housewives. Rock music was particularly popular with adolescents, and those who could afford it had a record player or cassette deck, on which they played the latest recordings. Music was also an important feature of the adolescent activity of "hanging out," which is detailed in the final section. Many of the young people were particularly adept at playing the guitar, and it was often suspected that a large part of the motivation for many of the visits the author received, was so that one might play the guitar. Several of these aspiring musicians formed a rock band and played for several of the teen dances, much to the delight of many who had never before seen a live band perform. Contemporary recreation patterns were featured by this continuity with music, but significantly, the contemporary forms were divorced from traditional beliefs and for the most part, Euro-Canadian in origin.

Visual modes of recreation expression reflecting traditional beliefs and patterns were more often noted among the contemporary Tununirmiut than the above oral traditions. Despite the fact contemporary Inuit sculpture and graphic art was clearly a product of acculturation - motivated as it was by profit, and with an eye for what the white man wanted and understood; several examples of a continuity with traditional beliefs were found. Unfortunately, those examples so well known in art circles of Inuit sculpture and graphics representing spirits, demons, anthromorphism or shamans, were not plentiful among the works of the Tununirmiut.[2] Only a few spirit-like carvings were noted, and when the artists were asked about these works, their answers were commonly vague and general in nature.

Of the carvings which the author obtained, a small soapstone carving showed the tradition of shaping the sculpture in accord with the raw features of the material. Emerging from the medium, which was without an overall form, the features of five animals could be distinguished. These features tended to blend together in the overall form, and could only be distinguished by closely examining the piece from all angles. Interestingly, the only other carvings which deviated from the standards established by the Euro-Canadian market, were two small seals carved by an elderly blind woman. Both pieces, while lacking good visual proportion, were as tactually pleasing as any art object.

If there was little evidence of traditional modes of creative recreation, the characteristic feature of other traditional recreation was that, if it was still popular at all, it had lost any meaning associated with traditional beliefs. The symbolic interpretation of animals, while noted particularly in children's play activities, showed no aspect of the traditional personification of the supernatural in these imitations. The common explanation for such activity was that it imitated animal behavior, or the struggle between two or more animals. Never was there any indication in these explanations of the traditional belief that animals were spirits of the supernatural. Similarly, although string figures, including those of animals, was still a popular pastime with all ages, the tradition of sun worship and the taboos which had once accompanied the playing of this game were no longer evident.

Perhaps the occasion which best illustrates most recreation had lost its association with traditional beliefs, was the author's attempt to organize an Inuit "games evening." Early the first summer it had been

decided that at least one attempt would be made to organize a special evening devoted to as many of the traditional Tununirmiut games as possible. As previously noted, most of these games had been associated with feasts which had fundamental religious meanings.[3] These feasts, unfortunately, had long ago been replaced by other forms of celebrating, and many of the associated games had not been played for some time. It is necessary to digress briefly at this point to consider how these traditional feasts and their associated recreation activities had been replaced by other forms of celebration.

The earliest fur traders introduced economics as an important aspect of celebration. Originally, visits to the trading post were cause for considerable excitement, and actual trading appears to have been carried on in a festive mood. The normal course of events brought most Tununirmiut together at the trading post three times each year: at Christmas, Easter, and late August when the supply ship arrived. These occasions at the trading post were usually marked by constant rounds of visiting and feasting. Pryde has provided a brief glimpse of the typical celebration that accompanied Christmas at the trading post:

> It has always been customary at trading posts for the Eskimos to come in at Christmas from their traplines for a party after the winter trading session. There would be a feast, a big mug-up, and games, rifle shoots, dog team races, all kinds of Eskimo sports and, of course, a drum dance. (1971; 80).

With the arrival of missionaries, the trading post celebrations at Christmas and Easter were replaced by a stricter observance of the Christian ceremony of these occasions. The carefree parties and visiting

which had marked earlier celebrations were replaced by a formalized set of religious observances and an appropriate code of behavior. Any reminder of the traditional winter Kunna festival, or the spring celebrations associated with the return of the sun, were completely replaced by the Christian observances associated with Easter and Christmas. By 1972, Easter was primarily a religious observance which featured a number of church services. Christmas, equally marked by devotional services, also included a community feast where the young children received a small gift and performed a short play for the assembled adults. The play was then commonly followed by a community dance.

Although spring festivals had never been as important to the Tununirmiut as the winter Kunna festival, the return of the sun had usually been marked by minor celebrations and games. This traditional celebration later became associated with the end of coal mining activity. More recently, the Community Associated had assumed responsibility for the spring games, which were held annually in May. These games were held on the ice in front of the community and featured foot and ski-doo races, and other games for which prizes were awarded.

Within this historical perspective, it was obvious to the author that any attempt to revive a traditional festival would have been very unwise, and almost certainly impossible. It was still expected however, that the games popularly associated with these festivals would still be remembered, and participation would be enthusiastic. In organizing such an event however, it became clear that such was not the case. In numerous meetings held with the community oldtimers it was difficult to get the people to talk readily about such activities. Even if such hesitation was not a

sign of a taboo against such activity, it pointed out that these activities had been devalued to the point where many had been all but forgotten. Using Zuk's (1967) excellent but brief booklet on Eastern Arctic Inuit games, and the Territorial Government, Curriculum Division's posters of Northern Games, it was possible to collect a list of some twenty games which the people deemed appropriate to play.[4] Significantly, the list did not include activities which required the accompaniment of song or dance. Nor was it possible during these meetings to get the oldtimers to talk of such activities as the wife-swapping ceremony tivajut, or the shamanistic séances associated with the festival of Kunna.

Armed with the above list the author proceeded with plans for the "games evening." As the appointed evening approached, radio announcements, posters, and word-of-mouth were used to develop enthusiasm. On the evening the games were to take place, the only people that had arrived was a group of young children. This was not particularly disturbing, as it was quite common that the locals gave little concern to "white-man's" time. It had become a common feature of the summer program to initiate an activity with whoever was present, and hope the activity attracted others, which it usually did. The same approach was used on this occasion with successful results. Significantly however, the oldtimers were the last to gradually appear at the scene, and for some time were reluctant to become involved in the events. It is hard to say whether this reluctance was a sign of misgiving about participating in such activities, or simply a common tendency to be bashful about standing out from the crowd. Whatever the reasons, once the first few were persuaded to become involved others quickly followed, and there ensued an enthusiastic round of game playing.

Several interesting observations were made respecting the difference in the manner that these activities were played by the elders and the adolescents. Whereas the oldtimers showed some humility, both in coming forth to challenge an opponent in one of the self-testing competitions and in accepting the final result, the adolescents viewed the same activities as an important means of establishing dominance over their opponent. While the oldtimers would laugh and joke good naturedly, the adolescents, for the most part, took the competition as serious business. It seemed particularly important for a number of the young men to test their strength against the "white man" present. This increasing importance of competition and dominance is also revealed in illustrations from subsequent sections of the chapter.

Upon final reflection it appears that, despite factors which may have limited the success of the event, those who participated seemed to do so with enjoyment and without guilt. One is left to consider if many of the traditional Tununirmiut games could not again become popular, if no more than as secular modes of recreation expression.

Although contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns tended to be secular, relating to nature was still an important feature of these patterns. Among young children, particularly boys, play was often an imitation of adult behavior directed toward nature. Boys played with miniature whips, toy harpoons, fishing gear and the like,and several were seen being pulled about the settlement on miniature sleds harnessed to young pups. A number of new toys,such as guns, play ski-doos, and play boats with "kickers," reflected the impact that Euro-Canadian material culture had had on their parents lives. Many adult games showed a

similar attachment to nature. Competitive rifle shooting was particularly popular; a rifle club having been formed by the local R.C.M.P. constable. The most popular event of a special fund raising day organized by the author was a rifle shooting contest, which had as its aim to try and break a string to which a prize was attached. A central feature of the spring games was ski-doo racing, and after witnessing similar events in other settlements, it is obvious that there was a universal pride associated with skillfully racing one's ski-doo.

A final example, whip cracking, serves not only to illustrate a popular activity requring skills commonly associated with an activity relating to nature, but highlights an interesting recent development in respect to many traditional activities. Among the group chosen to demonstrate traditional Inuit recreation activities at the Montreal Olympics, one man from Gjoa Haven was particularly adept at whip cracking. This man had developed a routine of various tricks which demonstrated his skill with the whip. Included in this routine was hitting a number of small objects, and breaking in half a cigarette which was attached by a toothpick, to the toe of a volunteer. His performance was enthusiastically received by audiences, but it must be noted that it was simply a performance, and only minimally related to the traditional activity. This feature of "performing," rather than participating in traditional activity, has become a significant feature of contemporary Inuit recreation patterns. Most commonly, traditional games and dances are now demonstrated only on special occasions, or for privileged audiences.

A final Tununirmiut recreation trend was the developing recreation attitude toward outdoor pursuits. The emergence of this attitude can

largely be traced to the introduction of an Euro-Canadian world view which distinguished and separated specific spheres of life. Whereas the traditional Tununirmiut had made few distinctions between the various spheres of their life, their contemporary counterparts have been introduced to the Euro-Canadian world view, and had accepted this view of life to a varying degree. The most striking development was the separation of the economic sphere from other components of lifestyle. A significant effect of this separation was a changing attitude toward traditional subsistence activities. While such outdoor activities as hunting, camping and ski-dooing, were still interpreted as subsistence modes, a second attitude had developed toward this activity as a recreational pursuit. Commonly, this attitude had developed among those Tununirmiut who were most attracted to the Euro-Canadian economic system and its associated values. While the attachment to the land was a characteristic of this group of Tununirmiut, it had largely become a means to "quit" the community during leisure time. A number of Tununirmiut were noted to have taken their holidays from Euro-Canadian jobs so that they might go hunting, fishing or camping during the summer. This general trend can be expected to continue as the Tununirmiut become more attached to the Euro-Canadian economic system, and further distinguish this system as separate from other spheres of life. This distinction of various spheres of life is discussed in the subsequent section, as it relates to perceptions of time and activity.

Concurrent Leisure and Work Ethics

As previously noted, the juxtaposition of traditional Tununirmiut value preferences resulted in an underlying leisure ethic which created an

integrated world view. The contiguity of this traditional ethic with the predominant work ethic of Euro-Canadian culture is central to understanding contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns. Contemporary Tununirmiut society was characterized by the incomplete, often conflicting, conjunction of these opposing value preferences - a conjunction which was often the source of considerable frustration for both parties. Many Tununirmiut, despite varying attachment to Euro-Canadian value preferences, had not fully assimilated these values. Perhaps in no other single sphere was this incomplete assimilation more visible than in recreation activity. One of the reasons identified in the previous chapter for the lack of a complete assimilation of the Tununirmiut, was the flexibility to variance which characterized Euro-Canadian society. A similar variance in Euro-Canadian values can be traced as the major reasons for Tununirmiut continuity with the traditional leisure ethic.

Euro-Canadian culture, while strongly valuing "future" time and "doing" activity in many behavioral spheres, allows spontaneous, self-expressive, non-goal-directed behavior as it occurs in the recreation sphere. In recent years tolerance to these modes of expression has increased. In the early nineteenth centurey, however, recreation was relegated to a position of secondary importance, being viewed as activity which occurred in that time not devoted to work, and as functioning primarily to refurbish the body for work. This perception still structures most Euro-Canadian conceptions of recreation. By the early twentieth century recreation, although still bound to the concepts of leisure time and utilitarian purpose, was being perceived as having intrinsic value. More recently, professional recreators have begun to challenge the dist-

inctions made between work and leisure behavior. Many now believe it is necessary to return to a "holistic" approach where work and leisure is viewed as an integrated whole, and behavior is essentially self-expressive with the objective of personal pleasure gratification.[6] Interestingly, this "holistic" approach is not unlike the traditional Tununirmiut integrated world view. In fact, it has been suggested that many traits of traditional Inuit recreation behavior would serve as ideals toward which Euro-Canadians could be moving.[7]

With such a serious debate surrounding the role of recreation in Euro-Canadian society there has been, not surprisingly, little unanimity with respect to Tununirmiut recreation behavior. This lack of consensus has allowed the Tununirmiut to maintain continuity with "present" time and "being" activity modes of expression. More significantly, these value preferences were, and continue to be, ramified in other behavioral spheres. Perhaps the most dramatic instances of the transfer of behavior acceptable in the recreation sphere occurred when spontaneous behavior, featuring a lack of regard for time, was transferred to the work and economic spheres. Most intercultural conflicts or misunderstandings usually occurred when Tununirmiut behavioral patterns did not conform to those behavioral spheres to which they were deemed appropriate by Euro-Canadians.

Viewed in this perspective, recreation behavior is a central expressive mode for maintaining continuity with traditional Tununirmiut time and activity values. This continuity was ramified in behavior in other spheres where such values were less tolerated. Recognizing the important role recreation plays in intercultural contacts raises a serious issue with respect to the future aims and objectives of northern recreation

services. This issue is considered in the next chapter, where a future approach to recreation in the north is proposed.

Numerous examples can be quoted of behavior occurring in the recreation sphere which was marked by a preference for "present" time and "being" activity modes. Several characteristic patterns should suffice to illustrate recreation behavior of the early 1970's.

Activity that was not structured or limited by mechanical time was a characteristic of the daily patterns of most Tununirmiut. If there was any single factor which tended to bind the Tununirmiut to mechanical time, it was the need to relate in varing degrees with Euro-Canadians who were attached to a mechanical concept of time. Those who worked permanently for one of the local Euro-Canadian agencies appeared most bound to "white man's" time. Going to school, attending church, shopping at the Bay, or attending meetings, all required some degree of adherance to mechanical time. But even in these situations, the Tununirmiut showed a marked disregard for exact or prompt time. This aspect of relating to the Tununirmiut was a constant source of consternation for most local Euro-Canadians.

It was in those situations where the Tununirmiut were not required to relate to the Euro-Canadians however, that activity was most marked by a lack of concern for time. Truly, these occasions featured activity patterns "free" from the sociological limitations of mechanical time. Continuous sunshine during the summer months further removed the physical limitations to activity patterns. Unburdened by such social or environmental limitations, daily activity patterns were governed for the most part by a person's biological clock - his own physical and psychological urges or needs. As long as interest was maintained, people tended to

remain active until the biological needs for sleep finally won out. It was not uncommon for people to go twenty-four or even forty-eight hours without sleep, and then, physically exhausted, to sleep for up to twenty-hours. A common characteristic of any one twenty-four hour day in Pond Inlet was that one could expect to see any number of people up and about at any particular time.

This distinguishing "free time" marked most Tununirmiut recreation patterns. The following are a few selected examples: games which might have started the previous evening would often not break-up until noon the next day; children were just as likely to be playing at two in the morning as two in the afternoon; visitors were just as apt to stay for breakfast, as for supper; exhausted,people would as easily fall asleep while playing at the school or someone else's house, as they would in their own beds. Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of activity completely unstructured by time was the game of Inuit baseball, described in detail in the final section. On the first evening in Pond Inlet the author had occasion to observe such a game which started early in the evening and lasted throughout the "night" until eight o'clock the following morning. Throughout this time people left, joined,or returned as their mood suited. Some were observed to go home to sleep, only to return and rejoin the game hours later. Evidently time played little role in this activity.

Obviously, any attempt to organize and schedule according to linear time would have met with questionable results. A continuing problem the author encountered while running summer programs was reconciling the expectations of the Territorial Recreation Division for its staff to

develop organized time bound programs, with the "free-time" pattern, characteristic of local recreation. Some reconciliation was attained by developing programs which were essentially flexible, but loosely bound to mechanical concepts of time. As far as possible, programs were adapted to local patterns, with the provision of opportunities for such typical patterns as visiting, "hanging-out," and spontaneous activity. The actual details of these programs can be found in Appendix "A". At this point mention is made only of a few major aspects of these programs which were modified to account for the Tuninirmiut lack of regard for time.

After observing daily activity patterns during the initial few weeks in the settlement, it appeared that most activity was concentrated in a period from late afternoon to early morning. It was decided that most program opportunities would be offered during these times, although, in effect, many informal opportunities were subsequently provided outside of this time period.

The only programming facilities available were the school, a portable which was converted for movies, dances and a drop-in centre; the author's house, and those outdoor environments that were suitable. The hours of operation for these activities were flexible, but generally in the afternoons and evenings. The school usually opened early in the afternoon for those who chose to drop by. One classroom was set up with a number of quiet games and activities, and was not programmed but left for those who chose to utilize the facility. The activity room was only occasionally programmed by two assistants when poor weather conditions required a move indoors. More commonly, the room was used as people saw fit, for activities ranging from badminton and table tennis, to dodgeball and indoor baseball.

The general office and staff room proved a popular gathering place for adolescents who visited, drank coffee, and listened to records. The school portable was used for dances and movies, and served as a youth drop-in centre on those evenings that other activities were not scheduled. Most evenings featured outdoor team games such as baseball or volleyball, weather permitting. Special events, such as the Inuit games evening, picnics, or sports days,more or less completed the formal program opportunities. Characteristic of these opportunities was that they followed a loose schedule, with reference to exact time seldom being used. Instead, time phrases like this evening, afternoon or morning: "later," "around," and "about," were common.

It was the more informal settings, however, that truly distinguished the program from similar Euro-Canadian programs. As far as possible, the daily activity patterns of the Tununirmiut were adopted in the program: often times several days of continuous activity were the order; visiting, low-organized games, arts and crafts, and music were a constant feature at the author's residence, regardless of time; weekends often included fishing trips, long hikes, or rock scrambling. Time, as a mechanical concept, lost its relevance in these settings. It is doubtful that any degree of real acceptance would have been achieved if the Tununirmiut activity patterns and time concepts had not been adopted. Without such acceptance it is questionable if any program would have had much success. Admittedly, such an approach may not have proven realistic in a number of other behavioral spheres, but it appears to have been commensurate with the general characteristics of local recreation patterns.

A second characteristic of contemporary Tununirmiut activity patterns

was the lack of concern for planning or organizing. Activity was in all likelihood to be spontaneous and self-expressive, and lack clearly defined goals. Associated as it was with the Tununirmiut concept of time, these patterns were typified across behavioral spheres, moderated when relations with Euro-Canadians were necessary, and most intense in those situations not dictated by Euro-Canadian expectations. Such situations were a characteristic of the recreation sphere. An example serves to illustrate the predominance of this value in recreation behavior.

As previously noted, evenings were usually devoted to a number of team activities such as baseball, soccer or volleyball. Early the first summer it was decided that these evening activities would be organized, by first taking registrations for the various games, and then drawing up teams, assigning captains, making schedules, and organizing leagues which would feature competitions leading to play-offs and championships. The approach appeared realistic, considering it was a successful component of most Euro-Canadian recreation programs.

At the end of the first week of registration all the names were placed on teams, and schedules for team activities, and tournament ladders for individual or dual activities, were drawn up. Then commenced a variety of efforts to ensure everyone was informed of the teams and schedules, including radio announcements, word-of-mouth, and contacting each team captain. On the day appointed for these first matches, it became pointedly clear that leagues and tournaments would not work; of the two teams that were scheduled, only two members were there, while some twenty other people stood by eager to participate. Not one of those who were scheduled to compete in the tournament ladders were there, but

eight others played anyway. Obviously, such elaborate organization and planning was not what the locals were interested in. The approach was quickly changed, and anyone who wanted to play was encouraged to do so. The schedules and team lists were discreetly forgotten. Interestingly, the registration lists were used the following year, but only because they served to inform people of the types of activities that were offered, and allowed some small commitment that "maybe sometime" the person would actually participate in that activity.

The above approach appeared to suit local needs admirably well. Activities, while minimally organized, allowed the essential local feature of participating spontaneously as the mood suited.

One of the most noted properties of recreation patterns was the almost complete lack of formalized rules, even in team activities. Indeed, the Tununirmiut word for a particularly activity often included references to the centrally important feature or purpose of the game. Most often the rules of a game did not go much beyond this central purpose. Those rules which did exist were usually understood by all because of their simplicity. Never in all the occasions when games were played, was it ever noted that someone was excluded because of a lack of an understanding of the rules. Rules were never formally applied nor strictly adhered to, and games often gave rise to a wide variety of self-expressive forms of behavior; behavior which on occasion was completely unrelated to the game itself. Naturally, such features allowed anyone who wished to join to do so, and to compete if they wished in a totally self-expressive manner. The Tununirmiut game of "keep-away," vividly illustrates these properties.

The central purpose of "keep-away," a game extremely popular with all

ages, was, as the name implies, to keep a small rubber ball away from others. Beyond this central purpose, the only other understood rule was that it was not proper to hurt someone while attempting to get the ball, although rough wrestling matches were common in some games. The game was observed played with as few as two, and as many as fifty participants. No great concern was ever shown if teams happened to be unbalanced in terms of the number of players. If one team continued to be successful in keeping the ball, whether because of more players or whatever other reason, players would begin to switch from one team to another to equalize the game. No special techniques or strategy was employed by either team, and it was just as likely for one team to charge the person with the ball, as it was to scatter to try and cover all opponents. The only skills which appeared to be at all valued were, being able to throw the ball high or far, and being able to catch the ball with a sharp snapping motion of one hand. Even these skills, however, were minor, and it was just as likely that any form or style that suited the moment would be used. While some would become enthusiastically involved chasing the ball or tackling opponents, others were just as likely to stand by idly chatting, only to make a mad scramble for the ball when it came near. An appropriate footnote to this description is the situation, once noted, when a player with the ball was chased about the community by a second player for almost a half hour. Throughout the time these two were spontaneously creating their own game of "chase," the others variously amused themselves, only to resume the original game when the pair returned with the ball. Obviously, rules were not a central feature of this activity. The game of Inuit baseball described in the final section also illustrates this same lack of concern for rules, and

a tolerance of self-expressive behavior.

Closely associated with the above expressions was a lack of concern for the outcome of a game. In the above example there was obviously no goal other than personal enjoyment. Inuit baseball had similar characteristics. On one occasion for the sake of academic record, the author tried to keep track of the number of runs which were scored by one team in a game of baseball. Unfortunately, on the occasion chosen, a particularly large number of people were playing. After four hours at bat, the first team finally gave up and decided to take the field. Interestingly, many of the people who had started on the team that was in the field had long ago decided to switch sides and get a turn at bat. As for the score, interest had been lost in recording once it had reached one-hundred and forty runs for the first team to bat.

If the outcome of games were of strictly secondary importance, so were those skills or strategies that would affect this outcome. Practicing skill was rare except in the few cases noted shortly below. Those skills which a person developed were most often as a direct result of participating in an activity, not from practice. The traditional feature of humility appears to have been an important determinant of this characteristic. To appear "too good" or even worse, to take excessive pride in one's accomplishments was strictly controlled by the anxiety associated with standing out from the group. "Showing off", whether in games or any other behavior, was considered inappropriate, and it was necessary to constantly remind oneself of this fact.

Should the preceeding examples leave the impression that the Tununirmiut were unanimously attached to "present" time and "being" activity preferences in the recreation sphere, several variations to this rule were noted as

mentioned below.

Interestingly, the feature of planning and preparation noted as a characteristic of traditional signing and dancing, was also related to contemporary expressions of music. The local band which was formed the second summer, for example, spent a considerable time preparing for Friday night dances, while individual guitar players would often compose songs and practise playing particular pieces of music. Other forms of practice or preparation were usually noted among those who had been to school in Frobisher or Churchill and been exposed to organized recreation programs there. One young man, who was actually an assistant to the author during the second summer, had previously attended the Arctic Winter Games and competed in table tennis. He and his brother occasionally practised this "sport"; however, their practice could hardly be considered vigorous or intense.

It was among the same group of adolescents that had attended school, that the rules and outcome of games were considered more important. The above noted game of table tennis was probably most pronounced for these features. No doubt a major reason for the concern for rules in this particular activity was the success of the young lad mentioned above. At the suggestion of a number of table tennis players, the only truly competitive tournament was organized around this activity during the second summer. While rules and the outcome of certain games were important to a few, these aspects were never noted to have been transferred to those peculiarily Tununirmiut games such as baseball or keep-away. Outside of the above occasions, recreation activity which was characterized by planning or practise, and rules were seldom noted and strictly secondary

to the dominant mode of spontaneity.

Recreation and the Transitional Social Organization

As expounded in the previous chapter, contemporary Tununirmiut society was marked by a continuing flexibility to each of the collateral, lineal and individual relational modes. Expressions of individualism were emerging however, as a prominent character of many behavioral spheres. Flexibility continued to be a feature of contemporary recreation patterns, notwithstanding the loss of certain traditional activities and the introduction of numerous Euro-Canadian patterns.

Many of the traditional Tununirmiut recreation patterns which had functioned to support collateral relations, such as song partners, and the wife-exchange ceremony, had all but disappeared as a contemporary mode. While gambling was exceptionally popular among contemporary Tununirmiut, the traditional games of nugluktaq and saqataq were seldom played, and had lost their significance as a mechanism to distribute goods. While modern forms of gambling, particularly cards, served to distribute personal effects, the spirit of these games had dramatically changed from what Glassford (1970) identified as a non-zero sum activity. The reciprocal exchange of gifts, so much a part of traditional feasts and ceremonies, had largely disappeared along with these traditional celebrations. If many of the traditional recreation activities which supported collateral relations had vanished, visiting remained a central feature of recreation behavior supporting such relational preferences. Because of its importance, visiting patterns are reserved for discussion in the final section.

Co-operation, a pivotal feature of traditional collateral relations, was still highly visible in contemporary recreation patterns. Serving to support the expression of cooperation in recreation activities was the lack of concern for the outcome of such activities, and the sanction discussed in the previous section against standing out from the crowd. Another feature of Tununirmiut recreation embedded in the cooperative attitude was the lack of a clear division of labor, or roles, in most activities. Group activities such as baseball, volleyball and dancing, were never restricted by age, sex or skill. In fact, the most distinctive feature of many activities was that a mother with a child in her amouti was just as likely to participate, as the oldest men or youngest children. It also appears that the restrictions which traditionally limited female participation in certain activities were no longer strictly in force. For example, those self-testing activities featured at the Inuit games evening, which appear to have been traditionally restricted to the male participants, were eagerly joined by many of the younger girls. An interesting aspect of the Friday dances was that there was as likely to be as many children, as there were adolescents and adults. Almost as though the opportunites were programmed, children were allowed to frisk and run about during the breaks from dancing, and were then made to sit, not all that successfully it might be added, while the actual dancing took place.

Communal property, another traditional peculiarity which supported collateral relations, was still very much a quality of contemporary recreation. An excellent example of communal property was the bat and ball used in the game of Inuit baseball. After such a game the ball and bat were usually left lying on the playing field for the next group to use.

If for some reason someone had walked off with the bat, or left it lying somewhere else, a furious search would ensue for "the" bat. While in Baker Lake several years later, the author had occasion to observe a similar attitude of communal property with respect to the Inuit drum, or kalaut. On this occasion all the oldtimers took an active interest in preparing the drum for a dance, and cooperative effort was noted in stretching the caribou skin so that it resounded with just the right sound.

As a general rule, that equipment which was used for group games or activities was viewed by the Tununirmiut as communal property. This general attitude was a constant source of problems for the author when trying to retrieve equipment which was loaned for such activities. If often seemed like a case for Sherlock Holmes, as such equipment passed from on person to another only to disappear without a trace. As previously mentioned, this issue of personal versus private property was not isolated to recreation equipment, but was a predominant article of Tununirmiut society.

While a number of aspects of contemporary recreation patterns served to support collaterality, Euro-Canadian influences had begun to have a notable impact on the expression of individualism. This impact had not however, been as emphatic on Tununirmiut recreation patterns as those noted in a number of other communities.[8] In the previous section it was noted that competition, planning and preparation were isolated occurrences in contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns. The most characteristic feature of Euro-Canadian individualism, its institutionalized behavior patterns and formalized roles, had however, made significant inroads into Tununirmiut recreation patterns.

Euro-Canadian institutions and their accompanying set of formalized roles, although very much a characteristic of intercultural contacts in

many behavioral spheres, had only recently become an aspect of the recreation sphere. Until the early 1960's, Euro-Canadian recreation patterns had been transmitted to the Tununirmiut only as subordinate or incidental projections from Euro-Canadians primarily involved in other behavioral spheres. Many of the illustrations used in previous sections of this chapter show how such Euro-Canadians as the early traders, missionaries, and administrators incidentally projected peculiarities of their culture's recreation patterns. The first such Euro-Canadian institution whose major purpose was to transmit recreation properties directly, rather than incidentally, was the government education system.

Within the educator's mandate was the responsibility for "teaching" physical education, art, and music. From its establishment in the early 1960's, the government school and its educators quickly became a major force in the intercultural transmission of recreation patterns. Although most of this transmission was channelled through the formal classroom setting, it was expanded beyond these borders by individual educators who became involved in settlement social life. It was the school teachers, for the most part, who established and supervised such youth groups as the Boy Scouts, Cubs, Girl Guides, and Brownies, and became actively involved in many of the settlement's social functions and special celebrations. The school facilities themselves, were the focus of most large community functions such as the Christmas feast and dance. It has already been mentioned that the school facilities played a central role in the summer program run by the author.

Several factors limited the impact of the education system on local recreation patterns, however. The school staff did not include a prof-

essional physical education teacher, and staff were left to include physical activities as they deemed them important. Not surprisingly, there was little continuity among the teachers as to the priority of these activities. Continuity was even less likely in light of the constant staff turnover from year to year. This feature became particularly evident when attempts were made to enlist certain teachers to assist with various aspects of the summer recreation program. At the end of the first summer only two teachers from the previous year returned, and neither was particularly interested in recreation. Neither of these teachers returned at the end of the following summer, and efforts to involve the new teachers started over again. An equally limiting factor was the lack of appropriate facilities at the school. Although the school was originally built with an activity room, as enrollments increased it had been pressed into service for classrooms. Teachers were commonly forced to use the school hallway for indoor active games, an arrangement which, from all accounts, was completely unsatisfactory. If weather permitted, which was not that often during the winter, classes were allowed outdoors. Even here however, the equipment and playing fields were woefully inadequate, consisting only of a poorly equipped and rundown playground, and a rock strewn playing field. One of the early priorities of the summer program run by the author became the improvement of this equipment and the upgrading of the playing field.[9]

Despite these limitations, the school system and the teachers still had a profound influence on local recreation patterns. This influence was further expanded when students began (in 1965) to attend the vocational school at Churchill and, later, (with its completion in 1972) the education

centre in Frobisher Bay. The school facilities in these communities, coupled with the associated hostel life and the community's other assorted features, had a dramatic impact on the students which attended. Bennington (1976) has pointed out the pervasive influences which occurred within similar schools and their associated hostels in the Mckenzie Delta region. The introduction of "sport," and the attitudes of competition, dominance and achievement associated with this recreation form, are well documented in this study. Similar influences were noted in Pond Inlet among the Tununirmiut youth exposed to the Churchill and Frobisher Bay school institutions.

Despite the fact the Territorial Government had established a separate recreation division as early as 1962 (when it was part of the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources), the programs and services of this government branch had had a minimal impact on Tununirmiut recreation patterns. Until 1972 (with the author's arrival as its representative) the Territorial Recreation Division had had few contacts with the settlement of Pond Inlet, the Tununirmiut people, or their recreation. One of these few contacts was the issuance of an annual per capital grant to the Settlement Council, which was to be applied to the operational expenses of local recreation programs. These funds helped precipitate the formation of a local Community Association, which, in turn, assumed responsibility for the movies, dances, and Spring Games. A second program of the division, capital assistance for the construction of recreation facilities, largely directed many of the Community Association's efforts. This program was designed on a cost-sharing basis, and much of the Community Association's

energies in the early 1970's were directed toward raising the community's share of the cost for a community hall they felt was essential for local recreation. These efforts were rewarded in 1973 when the association was able to purchase, with the aid of the above grant program, a pre-engineered community hall. Significantly, those few direct contacts the Recreation Division had with the community were directly related to this project.

Outside of these few influences, the Tununirmiut of Pond Inlet had few direct contacts with the sport and cultural organizations whose proliferation marked the early 1970's in the Northwest Territories. Several young males had become involved through the residential school in Frobisher in competitions leading to the selection of the 1972 Arctic Winter Games team, and one lad had actually represented the Northwest Territories at these games in Whitehorse. Other organizations such as the Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program, Northern Games, Canada Summer/Winter Games, and the numerous territorial sports organization, however, had had no immediate impact on Tununirmiut recreation.

Institutional recreation, as discussed above, introduced a significant new style of leadership to local recreation activities. Traditionally, Tununirmiut leadership had been informal or "recognized," rather than inherent in particular roles. This traditional feature still dominated those spontaneous, low-organized activities popular among the Tununirmiut themselves, but had largely been replaced by formalized leadership roles in most institutional settings. Curiously, those formalized settings which featured the involvement of Euro-Canadians were most marked by this new style of leadership. It might be expected this would be the case within the school setting where the role or "teacher" dominated, but the feature

was ramified beyond this setting to a number of others. Local Euro-Canadians organized and supervised most social clubs, usually supervised the regular movies, and were the dominant members of those committees responsible for the Spring Games and Christmas feast. It appears that the dominant role Euro-Canadians held in most other spheres was readily transferred to recreation activity. Certainly, there seems to have been as much expectation on the part of the Tununirmiut that Euro-Canadians would assume leadership, as there was inclination to do so by the Euro-Canadians. The regular Friday dance was one of the few formal social settings not dominated by Euro-Canadians, and the style of leadership that was evident in this setting was peculiarly traditional. As the concern of leadership in contemporary Tununirmiut recreation raises a very serious issue for future recreation trends, it is considered in some depth in the following chapter. It is adequate to remark at this point that similar expectations were raised of the author's role, and it often proved a dilemma to decide whether it was in the best interests to exert such leadership, or to encourage traditional styles.

Sample Recreation Patterns

Inuit Baseball

Perhaps no other summer recreation activity was quite as popular among the Tununirmiut as a distinctive baseball-like game which was played by almost everyone from the youngest to oldest. The origins of the game cannot be traced definitively, but Rasmussen made reference to a game somewhat like rounders called anauligarneq, which was popular among the Igloolik

Inuit (1929; 245). It appears this game may not have been traditional, but a modified version of the game of cricket, probably introduced by the early whalers. The modern version of the game, while appearing to have its roots in this British game, also had a number of the features of the American version of baseball. Honigman and Honigman have described a game similar to the modern Tununirmiut game which they observed being played by Inuit of Frobisher Bay (1965; 215-16). American whalers were known to have frequented the waters in this area, and it is possible that features of their game of baseball were adopted by the Inuit in the area.

Whatever the exact source of the game, it vividly illustrates how the Tununirmiut modified a highly competitive Euro-Canadian game into one that supported the basic values and patterns characteristic of their own recreation activities.

The game itself, was played by as few as two, and as many as seventy-five; the exact number of participants never being important, nor was the equal distribution of players ever of much concern. There was never any restrictions on joining the game, and it was not uncommon for a single game to include a mother carrying a child, the youngest toddlers, adolescents and the middle-aged, and one or two of the oldest oldtimers. People would often come and go as they pleased, joining whichever team that suited them, or switching teams as the mood fit. The game might last only a few minutes or an entire day, with people being added here or lost there.

If the game was "free" of time and participation restrictions, it was even more marked by a lack of any formal rules. Those few basic rules which governed the game include: two teams, one at bat; each batter swings

until he hits the ball; a batter is put out if he hits a fly ball which is caught, or is hit by the ball while off one of the bases. If these few rules fail to give the reader a sense of the game's purpose, it is precisely because there was no clearly defined purpose. The remaining rules were not always adhered to, and often changed. It did not really matter where the ball was hit or where the runner ran. Usually there were three bases and a homeplate, and the runner would circle the bases counter clockwise, but not always. If the batter happened to hit the ball toward the first base, he was as likely instead to run to second or third base to avoid being hit. If a runner happened to be caught away from a base he was just as likely to run for home base as he was to try and avoid the ball by running to the outfield, down the main street, around the school, or wherever he should choose. If the ball happened to be hit into the outfield, those on base simply trudged home and the batter circled the pitcher to return with a "homerun." If this description appears to put the team out in the field at a disadvantage, another feature made it even more difficult. To get up to bat the fielding team had to put everyone on the batting team out. But it was not even that simple, for a player that had been put out could again become a batter if one of his teammates hit a "homerun," and it was just mentioned how easy "homers" were. If the task seemed impossible, it indeed was if there were a large number of people playing. Several games were observed where the batting team remained up for hours. There obviously had to be a number of mechanisms for removing boredom in such cases. Not uncommonly, the players in the field would visit, play tag, or wrestle about while the game went on, only to furiously chase the ball, or a runner, if

either happend their way. If these other forms of entertainment were not enough to keep interest, players were just as likely to decide to join the other team, as they were to quit the game.

And what of the elusive purpose of the game? Certainly it was not to score the most runs. If anything the game allowed an outlet for self-expression, and was a source of pleasure, enjoyment, self-satisfaction, and a host of other purely personal factors.

Friday Dances

One of the few formal social settings which was not dominated by Euro-Canadian leadership or activity was the Friday night dance. These dances were usually attended by most of the Tununirmiut, and only occasionally by a few of the "whites." As with Inuit baseball, Inuit dances appear to have been a modification of an activity introduced by the early Scottish whalers. Certainly the music and dance steps were reminiscent of Scottish reels and jigs. Although other forms of dancing and music were popular, particularly among the younger set, everyone from the youngest to the oldest enjoyed Inuit dancing.

The dance would characteristically start with everyone sitting about visiting and listening to the music, while the children took the opportunity to play about on the floor. No one seemed in any particular hurry to start the dance, a fact which may have been partly due to the shyness of many. On several occasions the dancing itself never did start, and the evening ended up being, instead, a "social visit." If the dancing did start, it was usually one of the middle-aged men, who had persuaded a lady to join him, that went to the floor first. Failing to persuade a

woman was not always a deterrent, however, and if the mood suited, the man simply stood in the middle of the floor doing a jig while trying to talk others into joining him. These efforts were not always successful, but if a small group of people could be persuaded to join, the dancing would begin.

The dancers would join hands in a circle and begin circling with a peculiar jigging step pattern. If someone had not yet been recognized as the "caller" it was at this time that it had to be decided who would call out the various dance steps. Although everyone knew the various steps, it was sometimes a prolonged process to determine who would actually do the calling. The "caller" being finally agreed upon, the dance proper would start. There were not more than eight or ten basic steps to the dance, most of the "social-mixer" variety, featuring changing partners or working oneself around the circle back to the original partner.

How long the dance lasted was entirely dependent on the participants, some lasted only a few minutes, others as long as an hour. During the dance people joined or dropped out as they pleased, and there might be as few as six or eight, or as many as a hundred dancers at any one time. When the dancers were finally exhausted and could continue no longer they would break into a polite applause and the dance would be ended. The end of a dance was a signal for the youngsters to resume their play. How long the break would last was never certain. Occasionally a second dance was never started, while at other times the dancing continued almost constantly until the early morning hours. However, whenever a new dance began, the same process of coaxing participants and selecting a "caller" would be repeated.

Visiting or Hanging-Out

Visiting or hanging-out were perhaps the most characteristic features of the daily patterns of the Tununirmiut, and served as a mechanism for reinforcing many traditional values. Hanging-out is distinguished from visiting as a characteristically adolescent behavior often assocated with other aspects of the "dating game."

The pervading quality of visiting cannot be overstated. Visiting was an integral part of all social settings, including the previous examples, as well as being a marked pattern of behavior in other settings such as on the job. If someone did not have the time to stop and visit on whatever the occasion, something was considered amiss. To not be sociable was a serious issue for the Tununirmiut, and one was expected to smile and give a greeting, if nothing else. On the street, at home, in church, while shopping, and even while working - the occasion was taken to visit or gossip on local news. There were certainly no secrets which remained as such for long, a fact the author became aware of on several occasions. Visiting acted to make the settlement a form or large extended family. One person's problem, tragedy, misdeed, or indiscretion, soon became a matter of concern for all.

During the second summer the author lived with a Tununirmiut family for a period of time, and had opportunity to observe first hand the central role visiting played in daily life. The tea pot always remained full and there was usually meat handy for the constant stream of visitors who dropped in, and drop in many people did. Without fanfare, most would walk in, pour a cup of tea, maybe cut a slice of meat, and sit down. It did not always matter if everyone at the house was busy, the visitor simply picked up a comic book or whatever was handy, and amused themselves.

Sometimes a visit would be occasion for much talking and gossip, while on other occasions the visitor was considered no more than another member of the family who one exchanged a few words with as he went about daily business. Never in all of these occasions was it ever expected that a visitor had to be entertained or looked after. Whenever it was felt time to leave, off the visitor went with the same lack of fanfare that featured his arrival. Visiting was obviously such a central part of everyday life that it was never considered something special or distinct from other daily patterns.

Hanging-out, on the other hand, was a newly emerging feature of the daily patterns of the settlement's adolescents. Hanging-out differed subtly from visiting, ostensibly because its underlying motivation was being in the company of the opposite sex. Formal opportunities for such activity had been until very recently, restricted to house visits and those few occasions couples could surreptitiously slip off together. One of the things the adolescents had wanted most when the author first arrived in the settlement was someplace where they could "hang-out" with each other. It was suggested by these adolescents that the author might be able to help find such a place, a task which proved no easy matter. Although several facilities were vacant and quite adequate, there was initial resistance from parents who felt opening such a drop-in centre would promote immoral behavior. By organizing a number of meetings between the adults and youth a compromise was finally reached, and a drop-in centre was opened. Over the course of the two summers the drop-in centre operated, it became an extremely popular "hang-out," and seemed to adequately meet the need of simply having a place the adolescents

could consider their own, and where they could meet and socialize.

Hanging-out was not restricted to the drop-in centre, however, and the school office and staff room became another popular "hang-out," as did the author's house, itself. From all these newly established opportunities, the number of behavioral problems proved very few. In retrospect, this aspect of the summer program may have had far reaching implications which were not fully appreciated at the time. Whether the introduction of such formalized opportunities for hanging-out had a profound effect on settlement patterns can only be determined by follow-up investigations.

Summary

Contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns reflected a number of trends resulting from the conjunction of Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadian systems. Foremost among these trends was the continuing replacement and devaluation of recreation behavior formerly associated with traditional beliefs and supernatural observances. Notable as a continuing link with traditional values was the contemporary Tununirmiut leisure ethic. This ethic surfaced as an expression of preference for "present" time and "being" activity. Although the attachment to these traditional values varied, it remained one of the few conspicuous examples of continuity with traditional values. This unbroken link with tradition suggested the important role recreation behavior played in the nature of conjunctive relations. Contemporary Tununirmiut society reflected a continuing flexibility to various relational modes. This flexibility saw the rise of expressions of individualism in recreation behavior, and the establish-

ment of a loosely held pluralism which legitimized peculiarly Tununirmiut activities in parallel to activities introduced by the dominant Euro-Canadian system. These trends are considered in further detail in the next chapter, as they provide a basis for suggesting a future option for northern recreation development.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VII

[1]This feature of traditional Tununirmiut song was discussed in Chapter 4, pages 72-3.

[2]The December 1971/January 1972 issue of "Artscanada," is devoted to Inuit visual art, and serves as an excellent beginning reference. Among the more notable examples of artistic representations of traditional belief are the spirit figures and masks from Spence Bay, and the anthromorphic and demon figures featured in Cape Dorset stonecut prints.

[3]This aspect of traditional Tununirmiut games was discussed in detail in Chapter 4, pages 72-8.

[4]Included in this list were the following games illustrated in Zuk's book: surmilatluk, pangakkartartuq, unatartuk, arsaaratuk, nulluttartuk (nugluktaq), nakatartug, siummigartuk, misittartuq, tunummijuk, and allumiartoq. Significantly, few of the Western Arctic Games depicted in the government posters were known. Those which were remembered, include: neck pull, leg wrestling, and the bench squat. The popular high kick games were not remembered as being a part of the traditional activities.

[5]This juxtaposition of traditional values was discussed, not only in the previous section as it related to the trend of a developing recreation attitude toward outdoor pursuits, but in the previous chapter as it related to contemporary Tununirmiut society in general.

[6]Several contributors to this philosophy, include: Kaplan, Faught, and Johnston, whose articles all appear in Murphy's (1974) excellent book.

[7]Among professional educators the author has communicated with, and who support this contention, are G. Glassford, H. Scott and T. Orlick.

[8]In particular, the Inuit communities of Frobisher Bay, Rankin Inlet, Cambridge Bay, and Inuvik have a significant number of Euro-Canadians, and the impact on local Inuit patterns has been significant.

[9]For further details see Appendix "A."

Chapter VIII

RECREATION TRENDS AND A FUTURE OPTION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate contemporary Inuit recreation trends within the Northwest Territories, and to suggest an optional approach which might be considered to guide future northern recreation development. The present study of a representative group, the Tununirmiut, served as the basis for the identification of Inuit recreation trends and their implications.

The first section of the chapter identifies three major trends which can be detected in the contemporary recreation patterns of the Tununirmiut. The second section considers the implications of these trends for options for northern recreation development. The final section suggests, in general, an optional approach for a planned and coordinated development of future Inuit recreation in the Northwest Territories.

Tununirmiut Recreation Trends

Those changes in Tununirmiut recreation patterns which have resulted from contact with Euro-Canadians, can roughly be categorized into three general trends: (1) changes reflecting forced replacement, and often resulting in the disintegration or withdrawal of traditional recreation

patterns; (2) changes reflecting progressive adjustment, and often resulting in the assimilation of Euro-Canadian elements, or the creative syntheses of elements of each system; and (3) a form of stabilized pluralism often reflected in parallel recreation patterns.[1]

The abrupt break with Tununirmiut recreation patterns concomitant with a traditional world view reflect, for the most part, forced replacement. The replacement of these traditional modes of recreation was largely precipitated by the introduction of the Euro-Canadian economic system. The conjunctive relations established around this Euro-Canadian system largely resulted in a Tununirmiut dependency. This dependency forced, in effect, a breach with traditional modes of relating to nature. The fracture was fully executed with the introduction of alternate modes of relating to the supernatural. The significant feature of this process was that the nature of conjunctive relations left the Tununirmiut with little real choice but to assimiate the elements of Euro-Canadian culture. A similar feature marked the Tununirmiut break with recreation patterns formally associated with these traditional modes of relating to nature and the supernatural.

Few examples could be found in contemporary Tununirmiut society of creative recreation formerly associated with the traditional supernatural observances. Such modes as storytelling, song and dance had, for the most part been adjudged improper or inappropriate, and been either replaced or forced underground. Of those other recreation modes formerly associated with traditional beliefs, most had been devalued and disassociated from these traditional beliefs. A taboo appears to have functioned against the visible expression of recreation activity interrelated, remotely as it might have been, with traditional beliefs.

A significant recent trend noted among Inuit in other communities was that participation in such activities was becoming restricted to occasions when they were performed for the benefit of an audience. In such situations, these activities had become secular modes, with little attachment to traditional beliefs.

Contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns reflect a second trend, that of progressive adjustment to intercultural contact. Two aspects of this adjustment were: the unforced assimilation of elements of the Euro-Canadian recreation system, and the fusion of traditional patterns and Euro-Canadian elements into a third unique form. Progressive adjustment resulted largely because early conjunctive relations were only incidentally concerned with recreation. While the early entrepreneurs, missionaries, and R.C.M.P. established a purposeful network of conjunctive relations with the Tununirmiut, the introduction of Euro-Canadian recreation patterns was not, for the most part, a feature of this network. Within this network, projection of Euro-Canadian recreation patterns was largely fortuitous. The Tununirmiut selectively screened these patterns, rejecting some, accepting others, and fusing still others into unique forms. A significant characteristic of this process was that the nature of conjunctive relations allowed the Tununirmiut a real choice with respect to accepting, rejecting, or modifying Euro-Canadian patterns.

The contemporary game of Inuit baseball, or Inuit dancing are particularly classic examples of the fusion of traditional preferences for "present" time, "being" activity, and collateral relations, with Euro-Canadian recreation elements. Numerous other patterns such as visiting, movies, celebrations and special events also featured a marked preference for

traditional modes of expression within Euro-Canadian settings. Finally, many Euro-Canadian games such as volleyball, soccer, and badminton featured the same preferences for traditional expressive modes.

The assimilation of Euro-Canadian recreation patterns varied widely from individual to individual. The education system, particularly the large residential schools and their associated hostels, proved an important institution for assimilating the younger Tununirmiut. Many youngsters who had attended such an institution had assimilated many aspects of the Euro-Canadian recreation patterns presented by this system. Significantly, these Euro-Canadian patterns were generally not forced, and a number of school children chose to assimilate only a few aspects. The Tununirmiut were able to adjust progressively to the assimilation of Euro-Canadian recreation patterns by establishing parallel recreation environments. Specific recreation patterns were associated with these distinct environments. It was this state of loosely held pluralism that was the third major trend in contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns.

The trend of pluralism was a particularly significant feature of contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns. This quasi-institutionalized adjustment served to allow the Tununirmiut to positively adapt to acculturative forces. Pluralism ameliorated the stresses of intergroup situations and allowed the Tununirmiut to judge elements of the Euro-Canadian recreation system under conditions which were not forced. Further, pluralism legitimized Tununirmiut recreation patterns and ascribed status to them. Finally, pluralism established the criteria by which individual Tununirmiut were able to selectively assimilate elements of the Euro-Canadian system. Without this state of pluralism it is doubtful if the Tununrimiut would have

maintained any real form of continuity with traditional recreation modes.

Perhaps the most notable example of pluralism is that many Euro-Canadian recreation patterns in vogue in other areas of the Northwest Territories, were not a feature of local patterns. Particularly distinguishable was the lack of institutionalized "sport," with its accompanying representative teams, intercommunity competitions, and spectatorism. This aspect of pluralism no doubt was a result, in part, of the geographic isolation of Pond Inlet, but it also appears to have served the interests of the majority of Tununirmiut.

At the local level several arrangements served to distinguish parallel recreation systems. Most socializing occurred within the respective groups; few Tununirmiut were invited to Euro-Canadian parties and vice-versa, and visiting commonly occurred between members of the same group. Certain recreation activities were peculiarly Tununirmiut, while others featured joint involvement, and activities were quite clearly demarcated along these lines. Activities jointly involving both groups commonly involved formalized patterns not noted in intragroup relations. For the most part, joint activities featured formalized roles and leadership patterns. The host of organized social and youth clubs were notable in the above respect, as was the local Community Association.

Although parallel recreation systems were not particularly rigid (a number of exceptions were noted), they did exist and were recognized by both groups. The author's experience in attempting to organize competitive leagues for peculiarly Tununirmiut activities,[2] illustrates the existence of this pluralism and the resistance which accompanied the transfer of elements of one system to the second.

Pluralism also served to establish those situations where the Tununirmiut could express assimilated elements of the Euro-Canadian recreation system. Naturally, one of these situations was that which jointly involved the Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadians, but specific situations were also identified where it was acceptable for the Tununirmiut among themselves to express such preferences as competition and individualism. Such was the case with the "sport" of table tennis noted in the previous chapter.[3] Interestingly, this state of internal pluralism was supported by the traditional flexibility of the Tununirmiut to various expressions of relational preferences. Whereas traditional Tununirmiut society allowed the expression of variant values of relation, the contemporary state of pluralism allowed these same variant expressions.

Implications for Future Options

The trends discussed in the previous section raise several significant implications for planning future recreation options. Perhaps the most significant of these implications is that contemporary recreation patterns can only be adequately understood as processes resulting from intercultural relations. This study has demonstrated that the contemporary recreation patterns of a representative group, the Tununirmiut, were largely the result of Euro-Canadian contact with this group. Consideration of future recreation options cannot be blind to this characteristic of northern recreation.

A second significant implication is that the nature of conjunctive recreation relations was distinctly different from those relations established

in other spheres. The study has documented that Euro-Canadian relations with the Tununirmiut in the recreation sphere were not, in most cases, forced. This feature allowed such acculturative adaptations as progressive adjustment and stabilized pluralism. To an extent, Turunirmiut recreation remains autonomous of the dominant Euro-Canadian recreation system. This autonomy has allowed the Tununirmiut a significant link with traditional values, and raises a serious issue with respect to future options for northern recreation.

The above issue of the aims and objectives of conjunctive relations must be addressed as a prerequisite for developing a planned and coordinated approach for future recreation development. If the purpose of conjunctive relations is, in fact, to expediently assimilate indigenous people into the Canadian mainstream, recreation can be considered a potentially powerful tool for assimilation. If the Tununirmiut situation is representative, recreation presently provides one of the few remaining links with traditional culture, and its replacement by the Euro-Canadian recreation system will accelerate assimilation. If on the other hand the purpose of conjunctive relations is to allow the maintenance of traditional ways of life, recreation can be considered one of the few spheres where such goals can be realistically pursued.

Current recreation trends are neither irreversible, nor inevitable. They have resulted primarily because of a lack of a planned and coordinated approach to conjunctive recreation relations. The options remain open. A planned and coordinated approach can have as its objective either the complete assimilation of indigenous people or, the establishment of cultural pluralism. The following section suggests a planned approach to northern recreation with the objective of cultural pluralism.

Cultural Pluralism: A Suggested Approach for Northern Recreation

Cultural pluralism, as applied in this discussion, is based on the principles of multi-culturalism and self-determination. Multi-culturalism is the recognition of cultural or ethnic enclaves within the dominant system, and the right of these enclaves to maintain traditional life styles. Self-determination is the recognition of the rights of individuals and cultural enclaves to determine the nature of conjunctive relations with the dominant system.

Neither principle is dramatically different from those which currently guide conjunctive relations in the Northwest Territories. Indeed, the Government of the Northwest Territories states as a basic principle:

> Equal and meaningful participation for all Canada's territorial citizens, regardless of station, in the political, social and economic activities, and in the traditional ways of life in accordance with the ability desires and wishes of the individual (1975).

This principle has led to a number of government goals, including the following:

> Controlled growth, expansion and development in the north in keeping with the aspirations of the people, their culture, tradition, pursuits, life styles and skills .... (1975).

Certainly, such principles and goals suggest the government is commited to multi-culturalism.

While the means of achieving self-determination are not always agreed upon, the principle is accepted by both the indigenous people and the

government. The government recognizes the rights of self-determination, but recent developments have clarified that the expression of this right must take place within the Canadian Constitutional framework.[4] Native organizations on the other hand, have called for the establishment of "nations within a nation" as a means of ensuring their rights of self-determination. Should the land claims proposals submitted by several of these organizations be successful,[5] the nature of conjunctive relations will, naturally, be dramatically altered. Should independent nationhood become a reality, recreation will become the responsibility of the governing powers. Speculation on this future recreation option is, however, much beyond the scope of the present study. The reality of the current political system suggests that one must accept self-determination as a principle, as it is expressed within Canadian constitutional boundaries. Acceptance this means of self-determination in no way negates the rights and causes of northern natives, but simply recognizes the reality of the current situation in the Northwest Territories.

Although the principle of multi-culturalism appears to be universally accepted, this goal has, for the most part, not been achieved in the Northwest Territories. Within recreation, forms of pluralism at the local or territorial level have occurred less by design and more as the result of a lack of any constant development approach. It is safe to assume that - should the Inuit continue the trend toward attachment to the dominant Euro-Canadian economic,political and social systems, and should there continue to be a lack of a consistant approach toward northern recreation development - the recreation patterns of the Inuit will shift as a natural recourse in the Euro-Canadian direction. The end result of this process

will be the eventual replacement of traditional Inuit recreation patterns and processes.

While the Territorial Government, Recreation Division, has established a philosophy based on the principles of multi-culturalism and self-determination,[6] the delivery strategies of this division have not, in the main, actively pursued these principles.[7] It is suggested that one means of achieving the goal of cultural pluralism is to establish parallel delivery systems. The basis for such a system is currently in place in the Northwest Territories. It remains for this parallel system to be recognized as such, and for it to be encouraged, coordinated and expanded.

The responsibility for the establishment of such a parallel system does not, however, rest solely with the Territorial Government, although they must play a significant role in establishing and encouraging the alternatives. The native people of the Northwest Territories must identify the maintenance of such cultural traditions as recreation as a priority, and be prepared to make a commitment to this cultural maintenance. Obviously, without such a commitment, any efforts toward cultural pluralism will be doomed to failure.

The necessary ingredients for the successful establishment of a pluralistic northern recreation system, therefore, appear to be twofold: (1) the recognition and legitimization of the parallel recreation systems by the government; and (2) the commitment to, and implementation of such a system by both the government and native organizations. Several strategies are considered below which, if successfully implemented, could lead to the establishment of parallel recreation systems, and the preservation of traditional Inuit recreation in Canada's Northwest Territories.

This study has demonstrated that a form of loosely held pluralism presently exists in one Inuit community. To the extent this settlement is representative of other Inuit communities, it is suggested Inuit recreation patterns are characterized by this state of pluralism.[8] It remains for this feature of local recreation to be stablized by recognition and legitimization. From a government perspective, such recognition requires this institution to desist from implementing community programs and services which directly engineer changes, particularly those of a forced nature, to peculiarly Inuit recreation patterns. Such programs as summer recreation director's program with which the author was employed, with its objective of implementing "organized" recreation to the communities, must be seriously reviewed in this light.

Legitimizing local pluralism requires the establishment of a new set of criteria for judging community services and programs. While such government grant programs as the per capita recreation and facilities construction grants, and the associated consulting services, may meet the needs of both Euro-Canadian and Inuit recreation systems, attention must be paid to allowing the application of these grants to characteristically local Inuit programs and facilities. Other community services and programs must be balanced to encourage both recreation systems. If, for example, programs are directed at encouraging Euro-Canadian "sport," leadership and organizational structures; parallel services must support Inuit activities, leadership and organizations. A number of suggestions to be discussed shortly with respect to regional and territorial service strategies, should serve to maintain and encourage local pluralism. It is sufficient to conclude that both the government and native organizations must recognize

the potential impact on local recreation pluralism of introducing specific programs. If some sense of balance is not maintained, and particularly if options are forced, traditional Inuit recreation patterns will shortly be disintegrated.

Beyond the community level, a similar collateral system must be established and encouraged. Currently, the government overwhelmingly encourages Euro-Canadian recreation patterns, while native organizations have, for the most part, ignored any responsibility for native recreation. To establish a territorial pluralism both parties must reserve these situations. It is suggested that the establishment of concurrent recreation delivery systems at the Territoral level is essential if local Inuit patterns are to persist. Three levels of such a system are suggested: regional, territorial and national. Several suggestions for establishing counterpart recreation systems at these three levels are discussed below.

The Northwest Territories Government has recognized the existence of regional differences in the Northwest Territories, and established a number of service structures to meet particular regional needs. Foremost among these structures is the Regional Field Office. Unfortunately, the government has not effectively coordinated the delivery of recreation services through such existing networks. As a first step to this objective it is suggested the government decentralize its recreation delivery system, and transfer a number of program and service responsibilities to the regional offices. While such a plan for decentralization has been proposed to the government, it remains to be implemented.[9] It is significant to note, however, that even this proposal for decentralization makes little provision for the responsibility of establishing or encouraging native

recreation and organization.[10] It is suggested that any such decentralization must be undertaken with one of its central purposes being that of encouraging native patterns and structures.

It is postulated that two major structures can be established at the regional level to encourage native recreation patterns: (1) a system bound to the existing native organization, and a part of the overall aims and objectives of these organizations; and (2) an independent network of native recreation organizations whose aims and objectives are specifically related to encouraging and promoting native recreation. Within both these systems native organizations such as the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (C.O.P.E.), the Inuit Tarparisat of Canada (I.T.C.), and the regional affiliates of these organizations, play a central role; but it is the former system which rests solely on these native organizations. It is essential that such native organizations identify the priority of native recreation, and establish specific strategies to encourage and develop such patterns. To date this recognition and support has not been of central importance to most native groups in the Northwest Territories.[11] In light of the present investigation it is suggested recreation can be viewed as a major mechanism for native cultural preservation and as such, should receive an appropriate priority from native organizations. The nature of strategies to encourage native recreation must be decided upon by the native organizations themselves, but it is suggested that these organizations must group resources and personnel around this objective. Perhaps a logical first consideration might be to incorporate the responsibilities for recreation within existing structures, such as the Inuit Cultural Institute.[12] The role of government in relation to such organizations must be carefully

negotiated, but as a minimum it should encourage such organizations and coordinate its activities with native groups.

There currently exists in the Northwest Territories a base for a second form of a regional native recreation system. Since its establishment in 1970, the Northern Games Association (Inuvik),[13] has operated as an independent organization for the encouragement of native participation in traditional recreation and life skills. A central priority has been the annual Northern Games which has brought together native people from across the Northwest Territories for a summer celebration of traditional recreation and ways. Expanded, Northern Games could serve as the central coordinator of a number of affiliated regional recreation associations. It is suggested that the aims and objectives of the current Association, if it should in fact assume such a coordinating role, must be expanded beyond the central priority of an annual games, and include the support and encouragement of traditional Inuit recreation at local and regional levels. Indeed, the Association has begun such a decentralization in recent years,[14] but it still remains essentially an organization which supports annual celebrations. Without speculating in depth on the form with which this expanded responsibility can be discharged, it is suggested manpower and resources are required in a network from the local, to regional and Association levels. The expanded responsibilities of this system, it is presumed, could include the development of leadership and organizations as they appropriately apply to Inuit recreation patterns. The role of native organizations and the government should be to encourage, support, and coordinate their efforts with this system. The establishment of such a system will require a major revision in the government's approach to territorial recreation services.

Currently, government funding and human resources are disproportionately directed toward encouraging Euro-Canadian recreation patterns. Such programs as the Canada Summer/Winter Games, and Arctic Winter Games do little to encourage native recreation, despite considerable costs.[15] Government support to sport associations, coaching development programs, and the sports coordinating body, Sport North, can only encourage a trend to the dominance of the Euro-Canadian recreation system in the Northwest Territories.[16] While support has been directed to the Northern Games, Treaty Days, and several cultural touring groups, this support remains a minor portion of the overall recreation funding. Rather than suggesting that funding be decreased to Euro-Canadian systems, it is suggested that resources (financial and human) be balanced by increasing support to native recreation organizations and activities. One means of achieving such balance, it is hypothesized, is to identify and separate native recreation as a service area worthy of its own support structure within the government. This separate maintenance can possibly take the form of establishing a special section within the Recreation Division, or within the yet to be established, Cultural Division.[17] Most important in whatever form this recognition should take place, is the establishment of separate funding and human resources for this area with the ultimate aim, as the delivery system develops and expands, to balance that support presently being given to the Euro-Canadian recreation system. The logistics of coordinating this new delivery system with that of other government systems will have to be carefully propagated so as not to jeopardize its effectivness. It is suggested this new government service structure will assume most responsibilities for coordinating and supporting the previously mentioned native

recreation organizations.

As a final component of this concurrent structure it is recommended that a Northwest Territories council for native recreation be established with membership from the various regional native organizations. The primary purpose of such an organization would be to not only coordinate local, and regional native organizations with territorial government services and programs, but to liaise with private and government organizations at the national level. Such a structure will potentially be able to increase the sources of national funding to native organizations involved with recreation, and add a richness to northern recreation through its communication with other native organizations throughout Canada.

In summary, the above system is based on a realistic assessment of current recreation trends among a representative Inuit group, the Tununirmiut. It is proposed from within the present political, social, and economic realities in the Northwest Territories, and is neither too bold nor radical to preclude implementation. Many of the actual details may prove difficult to resolve, but with a commitment to the principle of multi-culturalism it is believed such difficulties can be overcome. The essential prerequisite to the successful inauguration of this system is the commitment of both the native people and their representative organizations, and the Northwest Territories Government and its representatives.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VIII

[1]These trends follow the processes identified within acculturation theory discussed in Chapter 2, pages 20-1.

[2]See Chapter 7, pages 176-7.

[3]See Chapter 7, pages 180.

[4]In response to a request by several government employees for a definitive statement on the government policy toward self-determination and "guided democracy," the Commission of the Northwest Territories Government issued a statement to the effect that the aims and objectives of the Territorial government must coincide with the Canadian Constitution, as set out in its acts and statutes. A condensation of this internal document appeared in the "News of the North," April 27, 1977, pages 1 and 8 in an article titled "Six Quit as Hodgson Lays Down the Law to Resolve Gov't Dispute."

[5]The Inuit Taparisat of Canada (I.T.C.) is presently in the preliminary negotiation stages with the federal government over its proposal, Nunavut (our land). The Committee For Original People's Entitlement (C.O.P.E.) is sponsoring an independent proposal which is also in the preliminary stages of negotiation. An essential platform of these proposals, particularly that of I.T.C., is the establishment of reserves of political, economic, and social independence for the Inuit.

[6]The Flynn report (1974) has identified multi-culturalism and self-determination as two major principles which must underly the development of recreation services in the Northwest Territories. The Recreation Division's "Guide to Services and Programs" states these principles as the basis of the division's philosophy.

[7]As in #6 above, "Guide to Services and Programs." A number of unpublished internal division documents including, "Recreation and Leisure Needs" have come to the author's attention during the time of his employment with the division. The nature of these documents supports the statement that little attention has been paid by the division to strategies to achieve the goal of multi-culturalism.

[8]To the extent of the author's experience in other northern Inuit settlements, this assumption of the representativeness of Pond Inlet is valid in those communities where the Euro-Canadian element is only a small segment of the population.

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

[9]These decentralization plans remain unpublished as an internal government document entitled "Recreation Division: Proposed Decentralization Program Responsibility Breakdown."

[10]The proposed decentralization, as in #9 above, considers for the most part, only those current programs of the Recreation Division, and does not include any particularly new regional programs or services.

[11]An indication of this lack of priority on recreation is the fact that, in the course of the five years during which the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs had an experimental program designed to fund native recreation programs, only one N.W.T. native organization utilized the funds available, and then for only fiscal year.

[12]The Inuit Cultural Institute of Eskimo Point has primarily concerned itself with communication and language issues in the past, but indications are that the organization intends to expand into other cultural areas.

[13]The Northern Games Association publishes an annual Northern Games program which serves as an introductory reference to the Assocation. Further information on the functions of the Association can be obtained from the office of the Northern Games Association, Inuvik, Northwest Territories.

[14]In the summer of 1977 the Association sponsored regional games in the Baffin, Keewatin, and Mackenzie districts. Recent plans call for a Trans-Arctic games once every alternate or third year, rather than the previous annual format.

[15]Canada Summer/Winter Games are held alternately every second year and involve representatives from the ten provinces and two territories. While the cost of transportation and accommodation are provided by the federal government, considerable staff and resources are utilized from the Recreation Division. The Northwest Territories is also responsible for trials, training camps, uniforms and equipment, and positioning costs. The government is even more intimately involved in the Arctic Winter Games, and financial support to the games alone is in the neighborhood of $75,000 annually.

[16]Special grants to sports associations and Sport North, together with the funding for the coaching development program, make up a considerable portion of the Recreation Division's operating budget each fiscal year.

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

[17]The government of the Northwest Territories organization chart (see the 1976 Annual Report, "Council in Transition," page 34) indicates a Cultural Development Division as part of the Department of Natural and Cultural Affairs. For whatever reasons, this division has, as yet, not been formed.

Chapter IX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study examined within a cultural setting, the contemporary recreation patterns of a representative Inuit group, the Tununirmiut, as processes resulting from acculturation, and analyzed the trends evident in these patterns as the basis for a proposed approach to northern recreation development. The study was implicitly structured by acculturation theory, with sections devoted to the properties of the cultures in question, the contact setting, the nature of the conjunctive relations, and the processes resulting from intercultural contact. To facilitate analysis of the properties of the respective cultures and the contemporary Tununirmiut society, the variations in value orientation theory was applied.

Application of Kluckhohn's theory identified the dominant value preferences of traditional Tununirmiut culture as: "harmony with nature," "present" time, "being" activity, and "collateral" relations. Characteristic of this value profile was the unified world view spawned by the interrelation of nature and the supernatural, and the underlying leisure ethic. This unified view of life made light of distinctions between various spheres of life. A second peculiarity of this value profile was the flexibility to various social relational expressions including collateral, lineal, and individual modes. This flexibility surfaced as a

number of social arrangements which supported the expression of these variant relational preferences.

Investigation of traditional Tununirmiut recreation patterns revealed they were closely interrelated to the cultural value profile. To a large extent recreation served to support supernatural observances. The most distinctive quality of traditional recreation was disclosed as the amalgam of "present" time and "being" activity - an amalgam which gave rise to the Tununirmiut leisure ethic and the view of life as an inextricably interwoven unity. Recreation settings were exposed as having served not only to support the dominant collateral relational preferences, but as one of the few social opportunities for the expression of substitute preferences such as individualism.

An overview of the conjunctive relations established upon contact between the Tununirmiut and Euro-Canadians brought to light two essential features: (1) that Euro-Canadians assumed for the most part, an economic, political and social superiority which attached the Tununirmiut in a dependency relationship; and (2) that recreation, until recently, had been transmitted incidentally, and that these accidental projections had allowed the Tununirmiut to maintain the right to selectively screen, reject, or modify elements of the Euro-Canadian recreation system. A significant revelation was that the Tununirmiut, via Canadian statutes and acts, had become members of the Canadian nation-state, and as such could not be considered as a culturally autonomous group.

Within contemporary Tununirmiut settlement life it was revealed: (1) that there had been a significant break with traditional modes of relating with nature and the supernatural, and that these modes had been

replaced by a preference for mastering nature with technological aids and a set of Christian beliefs and commandments; (2) that there remained a notable continuity with traditional preferences for "present" time and "being" activity in the face of an increasing work ethic, and that significant pressures were being felt by individuals in attempting to balance traditional and Euro-Canadian values; and (3) that the most significant aspect of social relations had been the introduction of a local Euro-Canadian element who largely controlled and directed intergroup relations, but that the Tununirmiut had established a loosely held pluralism which surfaced as distinctive in-group relational preferences.

The study of contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns disclosed that these patterns reflected similar shifts as noted in the value preferences of the society-at-large. Foremost among these trends was the devaluation of ancestral modes of recreation associated with traditional beliefs and supernatural observances. A notable uninterrupted link with tradition was the Tununirmiut preference for "present" time and "being" activity, as expressed in recreation behavior. Significantly, these preferences, although strongest in leisure behavior, were ramified to other behavioral spheres. Characteristic of social organizations was a loosely held pluralism which functioned to allow collateral relations and individualism in parallel behavioral settings.

Further examination of contemporary Tununirmiut recreation patterns revealed three general trends: (1) cultural replacement or withdrawal; (2) cultural creativity as unforced assimilation or synthesis; and (3) a loosely held pluralism. Based on these trends and their associated implications, an approach for future recreation development was proposed.

This proposal was based on the principles of multi-cultralism and self-determination, and the strategy of parallel recreation delivery systems.

Conclusions

This study indicates contemporary northern recreation and its surrounding society can only be adequately understood as processes resulting from the contact of two cultural systems. While the Inuit in general, and the Tununirmiut as an example, can no longer be realistically considered culturally autonomous, they have maintained a number of cultural links. Within the recreation sphere these cultural continuities are particularly notable at the community level. The major decision which must be made with respect to the future of northern recreation is whether these features of Inuit recreation will be ignored in an attempt to fully assimilate the Inuit into the Euro-Canadian recreation system, or whether these cultural links will be recognized and encouraged through the establishment of a planned and coordinated approach. If the latter decision is reached it must be accompanied by a legitimate commitment and a realistic strategy for implementation.

Recommendations

The outcome of the present study suggested the following as meaningful directions for further research:

1. The development of a planned and coordinated approach to future recreation development in the Northwest Territories

based on a full understanding of the processes and patterns of contemporary recreation.

2. A similar investigation into the acculturative effects on Indian (Dene) recreation patterns in the Northwest Territories.

3. Further documentation of traditional Inuit recreation patterns, particularly as they reflect regional differences.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

POND INLET RECREATION PROGRAM 1972:

FINAL REPORT

Foreword

The following report appears much as the original final report of the 1972 summer recreation program. Although the report has been edited as it appears here, the comments and opinions remain those of the author at the time of its original formulation. For this reason many of the opinions expressed may be open to legitimate criticism. While a number of these criticisms have been addressed in the body of the study, the purpose of the report's inclusion was primarily to provide the reader with an insight into the actual program run the by author during the 1972 summer months.

Introduction

On June 25th, 1972 the author arrived in the settlement of Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, Northwest Territories. Hired by the Government of the Northwest Territories, Recreation Division, one of the original job responsibilities was to conduct a Canada Department of National Health and Welfare socio-cultural survey. In addition to this responsibility, it was expected the students hired under the program (a total of ten), would remain in the selected settlements to organize and implement a summer recreation program during the months of July and August.

The first priority that was set upon arriving in Pond Inlet was that of becoming familiar with the settlement, its daily life, and its existing recreation patterns. One of the first observations which was made was that there were few facilities and little equipment or material with which to run a recreation program. It became obvious one would have to utilize those facilities and equipment which were available, while improving on the situation as was possible. Arrangements were made with the local school principal, Ron Cable, to utilize the school facilities, and a letter of confirmation to this effect was forwarded to the Superintendent of Schools for the Baffin region, Mr. Buell. Acquisition of the school and its facilities and equipment, provided a much needed core facility for the summer recreation program.

On June 29th, a local Inuit, Jonas Allooloo, was hired as an assistant to the author. Over the course of the next few days a set of tentative

plans for the summer program were developed. Included in these plans were: an assessment of existing facilities and a list of possible equipment which might be constructed; an overview of current recreation patterns and other social events; and a tentative outline of short and long range projects including special events, arts and crafts projects, and organized sporting activity. Naturally, these plans were to change throughout the summer as situations dictated, but their composition provided a broad set of guiding objectives for the summer program. These original plans are included as an addendum to this report.

Two preliminary objectives were identified which, if met, were felt would ensure the minimum success of a summer recreation program. These objectives included: (1) the provision of a minimum of facilities, equipment and recreation opportunuties; and (2) the gradual exposure of program opportunities to the settlement residents. The first three weeks were spent toward fulfilling these preliminary objectives. During this initial period effort was concentrated on upgrading the settlement's recreation facilities, while those situations that were appropriate were utilized to expose people to the various activities which were planned for the summer. Toward the end of the third week of July focus was gradually shifted from facility upgrading to the introduction of semi-organized recreation opportunities. Utilizing this approach allowed an assessment of community responses, and an opportunity to plan in accordance to this community reaction.

The first major program break-through occurred the week of July 17th, when a youth drop-in centre was opened. This facility operated for the remainder of the summer under the supervision of the local youth club.

The following week people were registered for various sports and games, and a schedule of leagues and tournaments was developed. Over the next four weeks this sport and games program was operated on weekly schedules with some modification.

Throughout the summer a number of program objectives had been set which were felt to have been met, to some extent. Not only were a number of recreation opportunities provided, but over the course of the summer, the community residents had been exposed to, and eagerly participated in a range of recreation activities. Finally, arrangements were made for the continuance of some aspects of the program beyond the summer months.

Facility and Equipment Upgrading

Upon surveying the settlement it was decided the first program objective would be that of securing the necessary facilities, and upgrading or constructing equipment as required. Through arrangements with Ron Cable, principal of the Territorial Day School, and Mr. Buell, Superintendent of Schools, the main school, portable, school grounds, and school equipment were acquired for the summer months.

At the main school the activities room, actually two classrooms separated by a folding door, was used for active indoor games. Included in the list of such activities were: table tennis, badminton, indoor volleyball, horseshoes, bowling, and a variety of general play and games of a low organized nature. The same activity room served for Saturday and Monday evening, and Monday afternoon movies. Although this arrangement necessitated continually arranging and re-stacking chairs, this inconven-

ience was accepted for the sake of having the use of the room during the remaining time. In the classroom adjacent to the activities room a passive games room was set up with such equipment as: checkers, chess, Rummoli, Snakes'n Ladders, mechanic building sets, blocks, Chinese checkers, cards, Steeple Chase, Red Rover, and Tiddly Winks. The majority of these games were borrowed from the school, although some were purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. Together these rooms were the centre of the indoor program at the main school.

In addition to the above rooms, access was available to the school office, kitchen, bathrooms, and caretaker room. The main office was used as a small drop-in centre, with a coffee perculator and record player set up. During the hours the school remained open, people were encouraged to use the office to visit, drink coffee and play music. During August the kitchen was used extensively by the Youth Club to bake a variety of goods which were then sold at their drop-in centre. The caretaker room proved invaluable as a source for the various tools and materials necessary to repair and upgrade equipment on the playground, as well as providing the necessary cleaning materials to keep the school itself in good shape.

The portable classroom, directly northeast of the main school, was converted into a coffee shop drop-in centre. The facility was appropriately decorated for the purpose with a stereo sound system, coffee bar, tables and chairs, and a number of quiet games. The Ookpik Youth Club operated the coffee shop and supervised the use of the building. The youth club operated the facility on most afternoons and evenings except Friday nights, when it was taken over for dances.

The entire organized indoor program, then, revolved around school

facilities. Without the use of these facilities it would have proven extremely difficult to run a summer program, as there was no community hall, recreation centre or similar facility in the settlement. This feature of local facilities highlights the need to give serious consideration to developing community-schools in small northern communities.

If there were a limited number of indoor facilities, there was even less to work with out-of-doors. A small run down playground and a rock strewn, uneven playing field were all that existed. During the summer considerable energy was spent to improve these conditions. The playing field was levelled, a baseball diamond constructed, basketball standards erected, and a horseshoe pitch dug. The playground equipment was repaired and a rope jungle, bombadier and sandbox added.

During the first week in July the assistant to the Settlement Manager, Benjamin Arreak, was able to level the playing field and remove the larger rocks with a DC-8 cat. An old bombadier was pulled up from the dump and relocated on the children's playground. After removing all dangerous projections an evening was set aside when the children painted and "beautified" their new piece of playground equipment. Soccer goals, volleyball standards and basketball backboards were also erected during the same week. It was necessary to scrounge whatever piping, wood and fixtures could be found around the settlement for this equipment, and it was found that the only way to anchor the posts solidly, because of perma-frost conditions, was to place them in cement-filled forty-five gallon drums.

The week of July 10th saw arrangements being made, and supplied, purchased for the opening of the coffee-shop drop-in centre. By the end of the week basketball hoops were erected, a sandbox had been made out of old

culvert, and a start made on the construction of a rope jungle.

The week of July 17th began with the digging of a ditch for the first rows of barrels which would form the base for the baseball backstop. The tops of these barrels were removed and filled with sand to anchor them securely. Toward the end of the week the second and third rows of barrels were welded into place and the backstop began to take form. With the completion of the backstop, the playing diamond was cleaned of stones and debris and the first games of baseball were played. This week also saw the completion of the horseshoe pits and the first curious attempts to play the game.

By the end of the week of July 17th the focus was beginning to shift from upgrading and constructing equipment to providing semi-organized and organized opportunities for recreation. The essentials were now in place and it was decided to proceed with a concerted effort to offer a variety of recreation activity.

Program Report

The first attempts at organizing recreation programs were isolated and tentative. As a means of raising funds for the program a special event was held on July 11th. Arrangements were made to borrow equipment from the Rifle Club for a modified rifle shoot, and a dart game was set up in which prizes were offered for the highest total score for three darts. Although this initial event was not particularly well attended, it was popular with those who were present and made a profit for the program.

At about the same time people began to drop by at the author's home,

where they usually visited or listened to music. Over the remainder of the summer a number of spontaneous projects became a part of these visits, including: Origami paper folding, bottle cutting, drawing, carving, candle making, story telling, string games, and charades.

During the third week of July the first efforts were made to organize a coffee-shop drop-in centre. Meetings held with the Qokpik Youth Club culminated with the opening of the drop-in centre on July 17th. The school had been open since the beginning of the week and the odd outdoor game had spontaneously occurred. It was during the week of July 24th, however, that the first serious efforts were made to organize recreation activities. Radio announcements were made and news spread by word of mouth that registrations would take place for various team and individual games, including: basketball, volleyball, baseball, soccer, badminton, table tennis, chess, and checkers. By the end of the week an average of fifty people had signed up for these various activities, and schedules were drawn for league and tournament competitions. The following Monday (July 31st) teams and schedules were posted in the school, copies of which form an appendix to this report. These schedules serve to highlight the extent of programs organized during any one week, although it was later found necessary to modify and eliminate the teams and league, or tournament aspects of the program.

The above program served to be a basis of the summer program for the remaining month of August. As can be seen from the attached sample schedules, the majority of organized activity was programmed during the evenings when it appeared people were most active. The value of the gradual introduction of programs lies in recognizing these activity patterns and

organizing in accordance with them. As it was to be later proved, the time period from six in the evening until midnight was most popular for recreation activity. Although the school was commonly opened around noon, little formal programming took place during the afternoon. The school often remained open well past the 1 a.m. time posted on the weekly schedules, and the attitude was adopted that the facilities and recreation opportunities would be available in accordance with the habits of the locals. There was no such thing as a definite nine to five work day, but a rather flexible arrangement which served to meet local needs. Sensitivity to these peculiar habits, particularly those of the youth, no doubt served to aid what successes the programs had. The twenty-four hours of daylight had much to do with these local habits, and the resulting peculiarities of the recreation program. It seemed people would sleep only when physically tired, rather than because of any psychological reason which might be brought on by darkness.

In the second week of August the schedules were readjusted for several reasons. The more practical reason for these changes was the fact that school was scheduled to begin August 14th, and it was uncertain which, if any, school facilities would be available after this date. Upon meeting with Bill Buell on August 14th, permission was received to use the main school in the evenings and to continue with the coffee shop, drop-in centre in the small school. Perhaps a large part of the reason the small school remained available was a petition presented to Mr. Buell with the signatures of many local residents. This petition asked the Department of Education to make every effort to ensure the portable was available to serve as a community hall for the coming winter. With the approval of

Mr. Buell, the facility was turned over to the Community Association. With the start of school it was necessary to re-schedule all events for between six and midnight. These final two weeks of August proved extremely difficult; although the younger children were now in school and had to begin regulating daily activities around this fact, the older students were still on holiday and their daily patterns remained little changed from the previous month. It was necessary to gradually enforce a policy of sending off the younger school children at 9 p.m., while allowing the use of the school to the older children until midnight. The gradual approach of "night" helped in some small way with the enforcement of this policy, but it remained a continuing problem until the end of the summer.

The second reason for adjusting schedules was less obvious, but equally important. While the original intention had been to run various leagues and determine championship teams, or winners in those individual events, it was soon realized that such highly organized and structured programs were not what was wanted by the majority of locals. Although registrations had served to make people aware of various activities and worked to add an incentive to ensure good participation, it was proved unrealistic to run scheduled league games or tournament ladders. While the various team and individual games were usually well attended, it proved impossible to get full teams out to scheduled games. Consequently, the focus was shifted to allowing whoever showed up to participate,regardless of the original schedules. This feature of local recreation patterns suggests careful consideration must be given to the introduction of competitive, league-type programs. If such programs are introduced equal emphasis must be placed on offering purely "recreation" or "fun" programs. It appears cultural

differences predispose the Inuit more toward unstructured or low-organized activity, and the enforcement of many "southern" activities may actually conflict with such traditional values.

A number of peculiarly Inuit activities were built into the summer program. It was previously mentioned how visiting became an important aspect of the author's home life, and how this feature was encouraged as a natural ramification of the normal daily patterns of most. Inuit baseball, keep-away, and soccer were included as popular evening team games, and it was often these activities that saw the most participation.

During the first week in August an Inuit "games evening" was organized with the assistance of a number of settlement oldtimers. The events included in this special evening of activity, together with the plans leading to its successful culmination, are included as an addendum to this report.

As the end of August fast approached, the focus began to shift toward ensuring that particular aspects of the summer program would continue on into the winter that lay ahead.

Program Continuation

Throughout the summer it was constantly kept in mind that the involvement of community residents was necessary if the program was to be expected to continue beyond the summer. Toward the end of August attention was shifted to ensuring program responsibilities were transferred to local residents. It was previously mentioned that arrangements had been made for the use of the portable school by the Community Association. It is anticipated the youth club will continue to operate a drop-in centre there,

while regular dances and movies will also be held in the facility. Arrangements were made for Murray O'Regan to act as an advisor to the youth club, and a meeting was held to introduce Mr. O'Regan to the youth club members. The in-coming school principal, Mr. Jack Waye, has appointed one of his teachers, Mr. Frazer Hope, to assume responsibility for adapting the summer recreation program into a community school concept. It is hoped these efforts will materialize as supervised evening activities for the settlement residents. Several meetings were held with the school teachers in an attempt to explain the summer program and have then incorporate similar activities into the school program. A number of personal resource materials and books were left with the school principal in the hope they would be of some assistance to the teachers. The local Anglican Minister, Laurie Dexter, has expressed some interest in developing the sport of table tennis, and several resources were left with him in the hope he would be able to organize a regular activity night around this sport.

Throughout the summer, constant communication has been maintained with Settlement Council, who appear to have supported the programs run. Indication has been obtained that Council will hire someone to supervise and clean-up the portable school, as well as run the regular movies.

In projecting ahead, an application has been submitted for an Opportunities For Youth Program grant which, if received, will allow the operation of a number of recreation-related programs next summer. Settlement Council has also expressed interest in having a similar program next year, and indication is that they will make a formal request to this effect to the Recreation Division.

Summary

After an initial period of familiarization, a number of objectives were established for the program. Among these objectives was the upgrading of recreation facilities and equipment. To this aim, the first three weeks were devoted to making arrangements for the use of facilities and material, and upgrading and constructing outdoor equipment. Toward the end of the first three weeks not only had a number of minimum facilities been arranged, but a gradual exposure to the recreation program had occurred. Over the course of the remaining time, the program focused on provision of a wide range of activity opportunities. Toward the end of the month of August arrangements were made to ensure certain aspects of the program would continue through the winter. In retrospect, the major objectives of the summer recreation program were achieved to a varying degree. Overall it appears the programs served to meet a number of local needs and improve the recreation opportunities of the residents.

Recommendations

The majority of the following recommendations have been alluded to in the text of the report, and bear only consolidation and brief mention at this point.

(1) Programming must be sensitive to local patterns and cultural peculiarities, and a period of sensitization appears necessary.

(2) Based on a thorough understanding of current recreation patterns and existing facilities, future program efforts must start with a set of long range objectives.

(3) Serious consideration must be given to any introduction of highly organized or competitive "southern" sports, while at the same time a range of opportunities must be provided to meet as many individual needs as possible.

(4) Serious investigation should be made into the development of a community-school facility not only in Pond Inlet, but in similar communities with a limited number of facilities.

(5) Such events as the Inuit "games evening" should be viewed as an important aspect of any community recreation program, while those peculiarly Inuit games such as baseball or keep-away should not be overlooked or devalued.

Addendum

A. Tentative Plans for Summer Recreation Program -- June 30th.

Time Remaining - Nine Weeks

N.B. School begins August 15th., and school will probably not be available after this date, also those attending school in Frobisher Bay and Churchill will leave shortly after this date.

Current Community Activities

1. Fridays - Community Association dances 9 - 1 a.m.
2. Saturdays - Community Association moves 8 - 10.30 p.m.
3. Monday - Community Association movies.
   Children's 2 - 4.30 p.m.
   Adults 8 - 10.30 p.m.
4. Tuesday - late store hours at Hudson's Bay.
5. Tuesday - Church 7 - 8.30 p.m.
6. Wednesday - Church 7 - 8.30 p.m.
7. Monday and Thursday - Rifle Club
8. Sundays - Church services.

Proposed Programs

Hours	General Comments
Monday - 11 a.m.-2 p.m.; 4-8; 10-30-2 a.m.	Avoid conflicts with above program.
Tuesday - Thursday 11 a.m.- 2 a.m.	Low keyed, low-organized games, as a rule.
Friday - 11 a.m.-8 p.m.	Team or group games in evenings.
Saturday - 11 a.m.-8 p.m. 10.30 - 2 a.m.	Supervise Friday night dance. Run projector for movies.
Sundays - No program	Community games on Saturday after movie. Special events for Thursday evenings. As a rule, children's program in afternoon, and adult and adolescent activity in evening.

Tentative Equipment Projects

Level playground and playing fields
Put up soccer goals
Put up basketball hoops

Put up horseshoe pits
Set up games room
Set up horizontal ladder
Get barrels up to school
Pipe fittings, tools
Paint, brushes, thinner
Volleyball standards
Pull up bombadier
Paint bombadier
Sandbox (get culvert)
Rope Jungle
Baseball backstop

B. Sample Weekly Schedules.

July 31 - August 5

	6 P.M.	7 P.M.	8 P.M.	9 P.M.	10 P.M.	11 P.M.	12 P.M.
MON.			MOVIE			Co-rec volleyball teams 1 & 2. Sewing & Cooking rooms open.	
TUE.	Co-rec volleyball Teams 3 & 4.		CHURCH		Checkers, chess, ping-pong Bandminton ladder Tournaments		
WED.	Co-rec volleyball Teams 3 & 6		CHURCH		Soccer Game Teams 1 & 2 Sewing & Cooking rooms open		
THU.			INUIT GAMES EVENING			School open Games and activities rooms	
FRI.	3 on 3 basketball Teams 1 & 2 (Boys) 3 & 4 (Boys) 1 & 2 (Girls)		DANCE				
SAT.	Baseball girls teams, 1 & 2 3 p.m. Boys teams 1 & 2, 5 p.m. Inuit baseball 6.30 p.m.		MOVIE			School open checkers, chess, badminton, ping-pong ladder tournaments.	

N.B. Coffee Shop in Small School open 2-4 p.m. and 7-12 midnight.

Main School open 1 p.m. - 1 a.m.

August 7 - August 13

	6 P.M.	7 P.M.	8 P.M.	9 P.M.	10 P.M.	11 P.M.	12 P.M.
MON.	Co-rec volleyball teams 1 vs 2	teams 3 vs 4		MOVIE		Soccer teams 1 vs 3 (Sewing room and kitchen open)	
	Chess, Checkers, Badminton, Table Tennis Tournament ladders						
TUE.	Co-rec volleyball teams 1 vs 5	teams 1 vs 3	teams 2 vs 3		Baseball teams 3 vs 4 adults	Baseball teams 2 vs 3	
WED.	Basketball teams 1 vs 2 3 vs 4	teams 1 vs 2 girls		CHURCH	Baseball teams 1 vs 2 boys	Baseball teams 1 vs 2 girls	
THU.	Co-rec volleyball teams 5 vs 4	teams 5 vs 3	teams 2 vs 4		Soccer teams 2 vs 3 (Sewing room and kitchen open)		
	Chess, Checkers, Badminton, Table Tennis ladders						
FRI.	Basketball teams 1 vs 4 2 vs 3	teams 1 vs 3 4 vs 2		DANCE AT SMALL SCHOOL			
SAT.	Baseball Girls team 1 vs 2 at 3 p.m. Adults teams 1 vs 2 at 6 p.m.			MOVIE	Checkers, Chess, Badminton, Table Tennis Tournament Ladders.	INUIT BASEBALL	

C. Inuit "Games Evening"

Events to be considered:

1. Sunnilattuk - bend outstretched arm at elbow.
2. Pangakkkartartuq - push-up position wrestling.
3. Unatartuk - Inuit wrestling.
4. Ajagartuq - thrust stick through vertebrae hole tied to string.
5. Arsaaratuk - stick pull.
6. Nullattartuk - thrust spear into dangling ivory spindle.
7. Nakatartug - hitting rock sitting on larger rock.
8. Wrist lock and pull.
9. Misittartuq - two step jump.
10. Sillmmigartuk - ear pull.
11. Finger lock and pull.
12. Tunummijuk - back to back pushing.
13. Neck pull.
14. Leg wrestling.
15. Walking on cans.
16. Bench squat.
17. Tug-of-war.
18. 75 yard dash.

Equipment required:

a number of pointed sticks for the Ajagartuq and Nulluttartuk games
a ivory spindle with a hole in it
a thong for the ear pull
a bench for bench reach
two sticks joined with a thong for stick pull (Arssaratuk)
plywood platform for competition platform
several broom handles
long rope for tug-of-war
several flags

Events run:

Tug-of-war, men against women.
push-up position race for men, women and children
stick pull for men and women - elimination
Nullattartuk, three games for children and three for adults
Nakatartug (rock ross), five games involving everyone
wrist lock and pull, for men and women - elimination
finger lock and pull, for men, women - elimination
ear pull, for men and women - elimination
two step jump for distance for men, women and children
Tunummijuk (back to back pushing), for men, women and children
neck pull, for men and women - elimination
leg wrestling, for men - elimination
walking on cans for men and women
75 yard dashes, two each for children, and men and women

Postscript

The preceeding program varied little from that which was run the following year (1973). The major differences in the 1973 program resulted primarily because an Opportunities for Youth grant was available, which allowed several additional assistants to be hired for the program. In addition to the assistant position from the previous year, two girls were hired to be responsible for the running of the children's playground. This program gained popularity throughout the summer and culminated with a series of special events including picnics and treasure hunts. The youth club was also able to hire a number of helpers at the youth drop-in centre, and this program expanded the second year, under the full-time supervision of a couple of competent members.

A second major distinguishing feature of the second summer was the presence of a number of Army personnel in the settlement. It became a popular event to arrange competition between the Inuit and Army in such activities as baseball. This added element expanded the semi-structured games program run the previous year, and proved popular among the young males in particular.

A final addition to the summer program was the formation of a teen rock band which played for a number of teen dances every other week. The band was very popular among the teenagers and their dances were looked forward to with great anticipation.